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The Gilyaks: an Ethnographic Sketch
/Die Ghiliaken: eine ethnographische Skizze/

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115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
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2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
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1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak , as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

174 mainland among Goldi as well as Manchurians. It is more likely that the first Gilyak who emigrated to the mainland from Sakhalin, took over the building methods as well as the language from the Goldi, and that the later ones who remained in closer contact with their native country, adopted the building methods of the Goldi and Manchurians but kept their own language.

The Russians became acquainted with the Gilyak as early as the middle of the 17th century when the first bold Russian pioneers traveled along the Amur. At that time there were also supposed to have been occasional bloody animosities. The Gilyak themselves, however, no longer know anything about this, unless perhaps there are accounts in rare legends which may be known by only a few. The majority know nothing of their own history and I was not even able to ascertain whether there was not someone still living among them who might tell me something of their antiquity.

161 The population of the Gilyak can be only approximately de-
177 termined, because, up to the present time, these people do not even pay yassak, and thus there can be no official methods set up to observe the shifts in their population. According to the estimates of the ispravniks (officials) the number of Gilyak of the Nikolayevsk district (1) and the

1. From the coast up-stream to Mariinskoye (270 versts from Nikolayevsk).

De Kastri and Kaiser bays amounts to about 4000, that of the Sofiyskoye district (2), 1000. As for Sakhalin, it has no

2. From Mariinskoye up to the Gorin.

ispravniks, but instead I asked the traveling fur dealers whose business, when all is said and done, would give them a greater interest in this question than the ispravniks would have. According to their opinion, there may be about 3000
161 Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin. The entire race of Gilyak
621 (exclusive of the Negidal) may thus comprise some 8000 souls. I believe the figure is not too large for, although the Gilyak villages are small and present a diminutive appearance, they are [100] relatively densely populated. One may assume that one house shelters no less than 12-15 persons. From a rough calculation which I made in the year 1880, there were about 900 persons in nine villages extending from the coast to the village of Vaida (30 versts above

161 Nikolayevsk.

621 Of the two sexes, there are fewer women, as far as may be judged on the basis of several examples. Thus, among 90 accurately counted Gilyak (1) there were 50 men and 40

1. This count was taken of the population in the houses in which a halt is made along the winter road to Sakhalin, namely, in the villages from Vasin Mys to Chëmi.

women. It has been proved that the same is true among other primitive tribes of Russia. As far as age distribution is concerned, there are not a great many children, but also
163 not very few. Large families of children which frequently occur among the Russian settlers here, are not to be found among the Gilyak. Nevertheless, the birth rate is not so small that one might see in it a cause for a decrease of this tribe. Among 240 persons of both sexes from various villages, I found, for example one-third of them were children of 0-10 years, which just about equals the condition existing in Western Europe.

161 Although nothing has been done in the way of gathering
177 regular statistics on the Gilyak tribe, there is nevertheless no doubt that the tribe has diminished since the Russian occupation of the country. Some villages are now only half as large as they were. We find a repetition here of the same sad phenomenon which we also observe in other countries where civilization and a natural state are contiguous. The more direct causes of this decrease I shall consider below. [RCH: see category 116, p.249]

II. The Country of the Gilyak

133 The lower Amur valley and Sakhalin are mountainous
312 countries. The mountain ranges of the mainland belong to the so-called Tatar range, Sikhote-Alin, which covers the region between the lower Amur section, the Ussuri, and the sea. The Amur whose lower third flows northeastward becomes even more gigantic here than farther up-stream. It is one and one-half versts wide; the depth varies, but even in low water large steamers can travel up and down without difficulty. At Nikolayevsk (60 versts from the ocean) sea-going vessels lie at anchor that do not draw over 12-14 feet [101] but even the largest could enter if it were not for a short, shallow stretch (sand bar). In stormy weather the Amur has such high waves that the river steamers must seek shelter along the shore, and people get sea-sick, just as

133 they do on the ocean. The current in the middle of the stream
312 is torrential. In general the water here is pure and does not have an admixture of particles. (1) It is very soft. (2)

1. The middle section of the lower Amur, on the other hand, at the mouth of the Sungari, contains many earthy ingredients which only gradually sink to the bottom.

2. According to my analyses (Reports of the Commitee of the Medical Society of Eastern Siberia for 1879), the water taken from mid-stream, opposite Nikolayevsk, contains only 0. 050 to 0. 053 soluble matter per liter of which 0. 033 is inorganic. Its hardness is only two degrees according to the French scale.

133 The Amur takes up a great many rivers and brooks from
361 both sides; in many places it forms wide branches and low islands. The general character of the land is that of a majestic wilderness. The mountains along the shore appear partly as bare rocks, partly as green hills; farther inland they are terraced or form chains, and the peaks are generally not more than 1000 to 1500 feet high. The whole region is covered with vast dark green forests. Only here and there the stillness and loneliness of the wilderness is enlivened by the sights and sounds of human or animal life. On high, isolated spots along the shore there are Russian villages surrounded by grain fields and kitchen gardens. Lower down, at the foot of a mountain, insignificant-looking Gilyak villages nestle, surrounded by swarms of barking dogs. Occasionally a noisy steamer hurries by, or a Russian bark
136 or Gilyak row boat glide by. Here and there a motionless heron is seen on the shore, or an eagle floats high up, a fish splashes in the water, or the snow-white body of a dolphin emerges only to disappear again instantly. In general, however, the large animal kingdom is not so frequently revealed to the traveler as he might have expected and as is the case in other regions, - for instance, along the Sungacha, a tributary of the Ussuri.

136 The forests are permeated with the refreshing odor of fir
137 and larch; occasionally the pungent odor of ledum palustre is wafted toward one. The stillness of the forest is broken by

136 the rustling of leaves, the cracking of branches, the murmur
137 of brooks, or the sound of falling rocks. Only [102] now and then are to be heard the twittering of a song-bird, the croaking of a raven or the hooting of an owl; in the early part of the summer that cosmopolite, the cuckoo, makes its call resound far and near. It is not often that one has an opportunity to hear the branches lying on the ground snap under the heavy step of the bear. Now and then the graceful burunduk (tammias striatus) slips out of the thicket and pauses inquisitively to gaze at man. The taiga (primeval forest) is beautiful and majestic, but at the same time wild and desolate. It is not easy to blaze a trail through such a forest. Quite apart from the tortures one suffers in damp places during the warm season from countless swarms of mosquitoes, the forest floor and the untouched vegetation present an almost insurmountable chaos. One minute one must squeeze through trees and shrubbery, the next, one must work one's way through a thicket of enormous wild roses, ferns or umbel-bearing plants, or make one's way around the roots of a fallen tree, that are almost as high as a house; or one sinks into swampy ground, or stumbles over the many stones that have been brought down by the spring freshets. The world of grasses, flowers, and berries of the forest offers a welcome change, for in spots one also encounters oases of lush grass or comes upon a pink, red or yellow carpet of flowers, such as the fire weed (epilobium), valerian, red and yellow lilies, chrysanthemums [chrysanthemum vulgare], among others, or thick patches of raspberries, cranberries, blueberries, etc.

132 It is especially the six-month-long winter, full of frost and snow, which gives the country its rugged character. In the first half of November (1) the mighty river ceases its roaring

1. According to the new style.

and wraps itself in a cloak of ice.

By means of the almost sudden and tumultuous adhesion of ice floes, the ice surface is studded with huge needles, planks, and mounds. This is the so-called toros; where it is large one is obliged to level the road for the winter season with the help of axes and crowbars. However, this toros remains bare within a certain distance of the sea, that is, where there is already less snow; between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyeskoye (300 versts) it causes difficulty only when there are no large snow storms [103]. Usually, however, as soon as the first

132 purga (snow-storm) blows up everything is so completely buried that only those trees can be seen which, at the beginning of winter when the post roads are being laid, are pounded into the ice at regular intervals. Then everything is buried under an enormously thick covering of snow which lies immovable for half a year. During this time the forests are accessible to man only with the help of snow-shoes and dog sleds. Through the stillness of this white solitude the unlovely but energetic voice of the raven is heard; or the stillness is broken by the rapid ringing of a Russian post bell or by the "takh", "takh" which is the Gilyak's signal to his dogs. The raging purgas which last for several days are followed by weeks of cloudless skies when during the day everything lies in a dazzling white glow, and at night the icy heavens are resplendent with bright stars.

The sea coast of the Gilyak country is very picturesque, but hardly charming. From the foam of the breakers up to the peaks of the mountains everything is covered with dark forests, and even the picture of the summer landscape is often clouded with rain and fog which are almost continuous throughout the warmer season. (1) And during the other half

1. The cold arctic current travels past this coast and condenses with the moisture-laden southeast winds.

of the year everything is rigid with snow and ice, so that in winter one can travel with dogs from the mainland to Sakhalin.

This is the general picture of the native land of the Gilyak. There remains for us to add a few details, insofar as these have been ascertained.

135 With respect to geology, it may be said that argillite
312 seems to occur more extensively, but many igneous minerals also appear. Thus the shores of the De Kastri bay consist of trachyte and basalt. Limestone occurs only seldom, which accounts for the softness of the water. The mountains are rich in metals -at least in various localities gold, iron, and lead were found, and it is well known that on the island of Sakhalin there are large coal beds.

137 The flora is varied and abundant. The conifers are represented by the fir and the larch, but the pine is absent. Of deciduous trees [104] there are oaks, maple, alder, birch, aspen, elm, among others. There are many berries, especially cranberries, raspberries, and rubus chamae morus.

137 Among medicinal plants are to be noted especially the cheremsha (Allium victoriale) which has an anti-scorbutic effect; valeriana officinalis; several varieties of artemesia (except absinthium); menyonthes trifoliata; Achillea millefolium; cannabis sativa; sedum palustre; taraxacum officinale; tilia cordeta; querus mongolica, etc.

136 The animal kingdom is varied and numerous. Fish, especially the salmon species, that is, salmo longocephalus (kita) and salmo gibbosus (gorbusha) are important for the Gilyak's existence. Besides, there are sturgeon, carp, pike, etc. Along the coasts are to be found codfish, flounder, white fish, etc. Of water animals the dolphin (1) as well as

1. It goes 150 versts up the Amur.

the seal are important There are many whales (2) in the

2. In the book entitled Sibirien und das Amurland by Albert Kohn and K. Andree (1876) we read that the whale even swims around in the lower Amur. This is definitely not true.

Sea of Okhotsk, but they are not hunted by the Gilyak; only occasionally if one of these monsters is cast ashore, it is used Of land mammals we must mention especially: sable, squirrel, red fox, reindeer, elk, and bear. The wolf is seldom seen, hardly oftener than the Bengal tiger. The latter does not actually live above the 50th parallel, but sometimes it extends its excursions farther northward, that is, into the Gilyak country. Thus it was supposed to have been seen on the De Kastri Bay and even at the Tyr, but it definitely occurs at De Kastri Bay.

Among birds, the partridge and the hazel grouse the wild goose and wild duck are of importance to the Gilyak.

132 The climate. With the proximity of the ocean, we should expect to find a mild sea climate, but actually this is not the case, as may have been gathered from our general description. Winter is more severe than in continental Europe between corresponding degrees of latitude (51-54) and the contrast between the seasons is very abrupt. The thermometer does not always fall to -40 degrees Reaumur, but temperatures of -20 to -25 occur very often. The summers are not hot. The distribution of atmospheric humidity is very

132 peculiar. [105] In Europe and in continental Siberia the relative humidity is lower in summer than in fall and winter, but here the opposite is the case. Moreover the difference between the maximum and minimum of atmospheric humidity is much greater here than there. In winter during a purga, it is true, the humidity increases, but afterward it decreases again so considerably that the winter air may in general be said to be very dry. In the houses furniture splits and tobacco turns to powder. We spoke above of the summer fogs, but we must add that in these latitudes they seldom penetrate more than a few German miles inland (1) so that in the Amur

1. Along the southern coastal region they travel farther inland.

country itself one cannot complain of them. In summer, however, there are many rainy days.

162 The climate is generally healthful. Thus, for instance, the
164 army of the coastal region has an average of fewer illnesses and deaths than the army of European Russia, although food and manner of living are by no means better. The birth rate among the Russian peasants between Nikolayevsk and Sofiyskoye outweighs the death rate considerably and more than in European Russia. However, some diseases occur more frequently in the coastal region, such as neurasthenia and mental diseases (2), chronic stomach- and intestinal-

2. This does not seem to apply to the natives.

catarrh and scurvy. The latter two seem to be of miasmatic origin, of which I shall present evidence in another connection.

III. Bodily Characteristics and Features

141 In general the Gilyak are below medium height, but people of very small stature do not occur, especially among the men who are more often tall. The women are considerably shorter and tall ones are not to be found. The average height of 12 men whom I actually measured was 162. 2 centimeters, and that of eight women was 150. 4 centimeters. These people had, of course, been picked at random.

142 The Gilyak are well-proportioned; they have relatively
516 broad shoulders, very well-developed chests, small hands
732 and feet. Their legs are usually slightly bowed (rider's legs) as a result of their straddle seats on the sleds and their bent

142 posture in rowing. Paunches and hunchbacks, etc. are not
516 to be found, and in general bodily abnormalities and de-
732 formities are much less often found among these savages than among civilized peoples. Their features are not beautiful, although the Gilyak are by no means the ugliest race of men. Their heads are broad and markedly brachycephalic. Their thick black hair, parted in the middle, falls down their back in a braid. Their eyebrows are thick, black and often bristly toward the root of the nose. Their eyes are small, but not conspicuously so, as is the case with some other races. (1) They are straight and slant somewhat up-

1. Thus, in my opinion, the eyes of the Buryats, rather than those of the Gilyak are like slits.

ward and outward. Their color is without exception dark. The cheek bones are moderately prominent, the nose short and usually flat. In women the column of the nose is not pierced as is the case with Goldi women who wear nose rings. They do not have a large mouth, their lips are thick and red. They frequently hold their mouths open, showing two complete rows of strong, white teeth. If one examines their mouths closely one discovers that the incisors are more or less worn down from their pipes. Their beards and moustaches are black, but thin. The ear-lobes of both men and women are pierced for earrings.

142 Their complexion is brownish. Their facial expression is
302 serious; friendly faces are less often found among them than among the Goldi. However, the women have a gentler expression, although their type is very similar to that of the men. They wear two braids which are often tied together at the bottom.

142 Tattooing is not common among the Gilyak. Their bodies,
304 also, are not exceptionally hairy. Their skin, if it does not happen to be covered with eruptions, is very smooth, but usually dirty. Their hair, which they oil copiously, is usually not free of lice. The odor characteristic of the Gilyak is a mixture of smoke and fish, with the former predominating.

526 As far as muscular strength is concerned, it seems to fall
516 below that of Europeans, but they have more physical endurance; the women, moreover, are relatively strong. One cannot say that the Gilyak excel in speed [107] and agility of bodily movement. Only in rowing and mountain climbing are

526 they masters. It is very strange that among these people
516 who live on and along the water there are few good swimmers, and a goodly number, especially of the women, cannot swim at all. In general, the Gilyak is somewhat indolent and clumsy, and for this reason the energetic and nimble Tungus regards him with some disdain.

151 I did not conduct any particular experiments to test the sight and hearing of these people, but in general these senses may be said to be very keen. They distinguish colors well. The fact that their sense of touch is duller than that of the European could be deducted from a number of experiments. When I was taking their head measurements, I occasionally pulled a hair so violently that, according to our conception, it must have been painful; but the Gilyak did not mind it.

142 The characteristics here described apply also to the
171 Sofiysk-Gilyak (Mangun), for they are more closely related to the pure-blooded Gilyak than they are to the Goldi. They have broader faces, coarser features and flatter noses than the Goldi, and they never shave their heads, whereas the Goldi shave a narrow strip of hair above the forehead. Furthermore, as we said, the Goldi women wear nose-rings. Also, the clothing of the Goldi is less primitive, more like that of the Manchurians.

IV. Clothing

281 In summer the clothing of the Gilyak consists mostly of a
291 linen or cotton shirt, pants of the same material, and a wide, pyramid-shaped hat made of birch bark, which may be fastened under the chin with a little string. This hat is made of a single piece of bark. It is white and on it are sewed or pasted dark curlicues. Their feet are bare, or else they wear shoes or half-boots made of fish-or seal-skin. For this they use the skin of various fish, especially the kita, a species of of salmon. For this purpose the skin is beaten with a wooden clapper, in order to make it more flexible. They also have shirts and coats of fish skin, but these are no longer worn much. The shoes made of seal-skin are heavier and more durable. To make these, they use sharp iron instruments to scrape the fur from the skin; but the upper part of the boot often consists of unscraped [108] skin. Elkskin is also used, but more often by the Goldi.

291 In winter their foot covering (the torbassa) consists of longer boots made of unscraped seal-skin; between the boots and the upper part of the thighs their legs are stuck into

291 pipe-like pants (gari) made of seal-skin. The upper part of these are not fastened like regular pants but are held to a strap belt by a few thongs. In fall and spring some of them wear these gari made of padded Chinese cotton. Under the gari they wear a pair of regular linen pants which reach to the knees. Instead of wearing stockings, they stuff straw into their torbassa. Straw is a poor heat-conductor, and the same is true of seal-skin. These boots are also water-proof
177 if they are properly sewed. The Gilyak's bodies and arms
291 are covered with a short jacket made simply of dog skin with the fur on the outside. This jacket is sewed like a shirt and has a slit on the left side of the chest, which can be buttoned up. The shirt does not have a collar, the neck and back of the neck are covered by a cap. The color of the jacket differs with the color of the dogs, but the all-black ones are most sought after as gala attire. Sometimes this jacket consists of coarse gray Russian cloth, or only the upper half is of cloth and the lower half of unscraped seal-skin, but this type of jacket is worn more frequently between seasons. The jacket is tied with a belt on which hang various necessary implements, such as the knife, tinder, needle box, etc. Under this outer jacket they wear another, not cut like a shirt, made of blue Chinese cotton, fastened by means of bulbous, Chinese buttons. Under this, many of them wear a coarse linen shirt. Head, neck and back of the neck are covered with a cowl-shaped cap made of dog skin. In very cold weather they also wear fur gloves, with the fur on the inside, and the outside sewed with fish skin; these are fastened with a little band at the wrist.

294 They now sew their clothes with needles and a coarse
439 thread, both of which they buy from the Russians or the Chinese. Formerly they used home-made implements.

291 Women's clothes are very similar to men's. The Gilyak
301 women also wear gari made of skins, which are fastened
531 around the hips with straps. Their shirts, coats and jackets [109] are usually longer than those of the men. The hem of their coats are often sewed with intertwining figures made of sheet brass. They themselves make the figures with the aid of a file. Stylish ladies also wear bracelets which are soldered over an ordinary hearth fire fanned with a bellows. In general the women love to affect a certain neatness of attire. They have aprons for gala occasions, which also have brass ornaments. Their caps, fish-skin boots and torbassa are sometimes decorated with ornaments made of colored cloth, and particularly their gloves are thus decorated. They

291 wear huge pewter ear-rings, five centimeters wide, which
301 are decorated with colored glass beads. Pewter and beads
531 are bought from the Chinese, but they make the ear-rings themselves. Around their necks the women wear beads of colored glass, on these are sometimes hung little wooden amulets representing human figures.

177 Pipes and tobacco pouches are so much a part of the Gilyak
276 personality that I am tempted to give them space here. Their
531 pipes are of Chinese origin and have the uniform shape of the Manchurian pipes. The stem is about an ell long, made of black horn which has been turned with a lathe; the mouth piece is of jade. The cup-shaped brass bowl of the pipe is no larger than a hazel nut. On their belts they wear a bone spike, ornamented with scrolls, which is used as a pipe cleaner. Their tobacco pouch is tied with strings to a disk of walrus tusk which is also decorated with curlicues, and this is fastened to the upper button of the jacket. As soon as they have finished their smoke, they stuff their pipe and tobacco into the slit in their jacket.

V. Food and Diet

261 If the Gilyak is short on provisions he eats only twice a day. He endures hunger relatively easily, he can hunt or pursue other activities for two days without any kind of food, only on the third day does he feel weakness and discomfort. On the other hand, as soon as the hour of plenty is at hand, he undoubtedly eats five times a day.

It would be difficult to say how much nourishment a Gilyak takes but in general they are blessed with a good appetite. From an eye witness I learned that once two Gilyak on a winter journey consumed one pood (about 16 kilograms) of frozen sturgeon in one day [110]

251 Their staple diet consists of fish: sturgeon, various types
262 of carp, whiting, but particularly salmon and mainly kita (salmo longocephalus) and gorbusha (salmo gibbosus). A freshly-caught fish is eaten raw, but the greater part of the salmon catch is dried for the cold season. For this purpose the fish are cut lengthwise and are hung about six feet from the ground; by means of air currents they become a dried non-rotten substance. This is the so-called sukola. The kita provides the bulk of these winter stores, and the fish appears at the end of summer. The fish caught in winter are stored in a frozen state and eaten thus. (1) Sukola is also the main

1. The Russians of Siberia also eat frozen

251 fish. It is cut into small chips and known as
262 stroganina.

food of the dogs.

231 The Gilyak eats meat relatively infrequently. Besides
252 hazel grouse and duck, they have the meat of the elk, rein-
262 deer, dog, and bear. Fowl is usually cooked, the rest is eaten raw at times, and sometimes it is cooked. Roasting is hardly customary. Bear meat is considered a particular delicacy and it is eaten either raw or slightly roasted. Whenever they have an opportunity, the Gilyak eat dog meat. Thus, old dogs that are no longer useful as draft animals must yield their flesh and their pelt to their masters. (2) The Gilyak

> 2. The fondness of the Gilyak dogs for their masters is inconsistent with the "wild and troublesome behavior" which dogs are supposed to show toward dog-eaters. (Philosophie des Unbewussten. 1878, page 85.)

are very fond of the fat house-dogs which they occasionally beg from the Russians.

262 They love fat, especially seal blubber by itself or with cranberries, and this is a favorite dish of everyone. Withal, we must consider that this blubber has such a penetrating, offensive odor that a civilized nose even finds the odor of the boots which the Russian common people grease with seal blubber, unbearable even at a distance. The taste, of course, corresponds to the odor. The fat of the fish and other animals is often eaten by itself. The blubber of the dolphin is also considered a great delicacy, but it is hard to get.

They are very fond of eggs, and seek out and rob birds'
262 nests. It does not occur to them to raise chickens or ducks.
272 [111] Milk was unknown to the Gilyak before the Russians
515 occupied the country (1) except, of course, mother's milk. If

> 1. The Chinese and Koreans do not milk a single one of their domestic animals. The Koreans use their cows as riding animals.

they are occasionally treated to milk, they manifest pleasure. Worms, insects, etc., are not eaten; with the exception of the louse. It is an ordinary sight to see them pick a louse out of their hair, put it between their teeth, and swallow it.

262 Of farinaceous food, they eat only buda (millet). It is
439 bought from itinerant Russian or Chinese merchants and eaten as a porridge or in soup. They love potatoes and bread, but both are more expensive than millet and therefore they seldom have either.

Cedar nuts and berries are their favorite dainties. Cranberries, raspberries and black alder berries are gathered for the winter. In bad years, when the salmon catch was poor, they gather and consume great numbers of berries and especially cedar nuts, as a substitute for more substantial nourishment.

272 Tea the Gilyak love almost as much as spirits. They use, of course, only the commonest variety, that is, brick tea which is sold in the form of compactly pressed bricks but has nothing added. They do not, however, drink it regularly, because they often do not have the money or the opportunity to buy it. If they also have sugar for their tea, these people are utterly happy.

263 As a condiment and spice they use practically only the leek
827 of the cherenesha. On the island of Sakhalin, according to Schrenk, the senecia pseudoarnica is also put into the soup. Salt is now regularly used. Some Gilyak maintain that since they have been eating salt, their sense of smell is no longer so acute, and that formerly they could tell what animals had passed through the bush (?).

273 Like all savages, they love spirits above all; it is also the
439 bait by which all kinds of itinerant merchants entice them. Liquor which is smuggled in from China (suli or chanshina) is very high in raw alcohol and the drunken state which it induces [112] often has elements of near-insanity. The Gilyak do not know any other intoxicating beverages.

276 Tobacco is the best-loved indulgence of young and old of
439 both sexes. It comes from neighboring Manchuria and is not very strong. Children of six to eight years already smoke, although not all adults permit this.

They do not smoke opium, probably because it is very expensive. After this general account of the various articles of nourishment and intoxication, I should like to add something about the methods of preparation of the food.

252 During the day the food is mostly eaten cold; cooking is done
264 toward evening. The cold food is at the same time usually raw.
415 Roasting is almost unknown, and the number of cooked dishes is small. They consist mostly of millet porridge and soup. One kind of soup is worth describing because of its odd manner of preparation. The assembled company put dried fish into

252 their mouths and chew it. Each person spits out what he has
264 chewed into an individual small basket made of birch bark.
415 The contents of all the little baskets are then gathered and put into a pot; to this are added fresh, unsalted fish, berries, cedar nuts, flour and seal blubber, and the whole is then cooked. The soup is not eaten with spoons but drunk out of wooden mugs; from these they also eat their porridge. They eat with their fingers; instead of plates and bowls for dry food they use small wooden boards with legs. Both sexes eat together; they sit crosslegged on benches on which also the bowls and little trays stand about.

VI. Dwellings

343 Gilyak villages lie along the river banks in low places
361 which, however, are usually not reached by flood waters.
417 The houses stand in a row, usually three in number, seldom 12 or more. The front of the village is usually more or less hidden by the high scaffolding on which the fish are dried. The only out-buildings are small storage houses. Neither stalls nor places to house their idols, neither kitchen gardens nor cultivated fields are to be seen around such a village. (1) The scaffolds consist of high perpendicular poles

> 1. As an exception we may mention the fact that one Gilyak in the last few years had some potato patches.

on which are cross bars. Below and around [113] these the dogs are usually assembled. Some Gilyak villages have separate bear houses, a small square made of beams where a bear is kept and fattened!

333 Their house (2) somewhat resembles a common farm house,
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> 2. In conversations with Russians the Gilyak also commonly refer to their houses as yurts, but this is not a Gilyak word.

but it is shabbier and gloomier; it is broader and lower, has no glass at the windows, and no smoke vent in the roof. It consists of only one room. The walls are made of thin fir beams. The cracks are stuffed with moss and smeared over with clay. The floor consists of pressed clay, the roof of birch bark or coarse dried grass (calamagrostis purpurae) on which earth is sprinkled; the roof is also sometimes weighted with stones, to offer resistance to the wind. The few

333 windows have fish skin stretched over them instead of glass
342 panes. The simple, low door has leather straps instead of
354 hinges. There is no ceiling; instead, there are a few cross bars on which lie or from which hang various implements, among other things a kettle which reaches to the front opening of the hearth. The hearth or the stove, if you like, consists of pressed clay; the larger houses have two of them. The smoke passes into a horizontal pipe made of stones and covered with clay, which goes around the room under the sleeping boards, leads out through the side wall and ends in a high wooden chimney that stands separately. The Goldi and Manchurians have the same arrangement. The smoke pipe is seldom cleaned, and yet fire does not often occur. The thin walls of the Gilyak house do not hold the heat, the stove is low and small, and thus the warming of the benches from below is a very practical arrangement. Even so, it is often very cold in the houses, especially when it is below freezing and there is a wind. A large kettle for water is put into the upper opening of the stove and besides that, as we have said, a smaller kettle or cooking pot is suspended from a chain and rests just in front of the front opening of the stove, right next to the floor. The logs are usually so long that [114] they do not fit properly and burn outside the opening of the stove, which frequently causes the room to be filled with clouds of smoke.

231 The furniture is very simple. Not far from the door is the
352 hearth or, if there are two, they are put on either side of the entrance. Around the walls run the benches, or, rather, one continuous bench. It is low and so wide that a tall man can lie diagonally across it. It is covered with woven mats made of arundo. In the middle of the room is the long and low dog table. The dogs are called in before they are fed and tied on the table; they are let down one by one, fed, and chased out again. Besides, there are hanging cradles, a primitively decorated cabinet, a box, etc. On the benches stand a few stools in case a higher seat is needed for some work. On the cross beams below the roof hang all kinds of skins, fish, cloths, etc.; above these, diagonally, lie oars, lances, bows, and the like. There are no idols to be seen; these are usually kept in the storage houses and are brought out only on special
354 occasions. In the evening the room is lighted in the most primi-
373 tive fashion: a cloth and a small bowl of fish oil is the lamp, or, if there happens to be no oil, a pine chip is lighted.

513 In summer their bed consists of mats, in winter of bear skins or other skins. For pillows they use long, cylindrical cloth sacks stuffed with hay, one of which serves for several

513 heads. Their cover consists of skins, sometimes also of a coarse military cloth.

182 The houses of the Sakhalin-Gilyak are differently arranged.
342 They have neither stoves, nor chimneys, nor windows. The floor is somewhat below the surface of the ground; in the middle of it is a box-like open hearth made of pressed clay, and above this is an opening in the roof. In windy weather the houses are usually full of smoke.

314 A Gilyak house is lived in only during the cold and colder
342 parts of the year; in summer, however, those who do not go
484 off on longer excursions move into the airy storage hut. This
592 consists of boards, and stands on poles in order to protect it from rats. [115] On their expeditions the Gilyak often make themselves huts of birch bark, and they carry along with them wide and long pieces of bark. It is scraped, and softened in hot steam. They also make baskets, small dishes, etc. of this.

A Gilyak house seldom serves but one family; usually several of them live together, sometimes as many as eight or nine.

531 VII. Transportation Methods, Boats and Dog Sleds.

There are two kinds of boats. The regular one is usually made of fir or cedar wood. It is rather narrow, but very long, about six to seven meters and has no keel. The steering end is rounded, the opposite end, pointed. Lengthwise it consists of three planks, one of which is the floor, the others, the two sides. The floor board projects out at the prow, the two side boards are shorter than it and are joined by two small cross-boards; the projecting floor board softens the impact in landing and serves to tie up the vessel. The boards are joined with wooden pins, the cracks stuffed with moss which on the inside is covered with thin wooden strips and fastened down. There is no rudder; instead they use a short steering oar which is used alternately on the right and left sides. The ordinary oars are shovel-shaped; the wider end is cut in the shape of a lyre. There is a small bar fastened to the edge of the boat for each oar, against which it is braced. The rowers sit on low, narrow cross boards. Sometimes a mast is raised and a sail is set. The latter consists of fish skin or sail cloth. These boats go very rapidly but easily overturn.

The Omorchka is a small narrow canoe made of birch bark; inside, the frame is supported by a double row of lashing of the same material, which runs criss-cross. Usually only one person sits in this canoe and rows with a double oar, both right and left.

502 In general the Gilyak are skilled boatmen. Necessity has taught them to recognize certain signs by which to predict a storm and as soon as they become aware of any of these, they are afraid to go out, especially if their errand takes them to the sea coast. If it happens that their vessel overturns in its battle with wind and waves, they usually succeed in straddling it while looking about for help. [116] But since most of them are poor swimmers, especially in their clothes it happens not infrequently that someone perishes.

231 During the warm season the dogs have little to do; occa-
492 sionally they are used to pull a boat upstream by a rope. Winter is their real working season. The Gilyak dog is of medium height, strongly built, has pointed ears and a short stump of a tail, he is coarse haired but not shaggy and in general resembles a Russian village dog. He lives five to six years and ends his career in the stomach of his master. It cannot be said that the Gilyak dogs are vicious, but in driving they often become so and try to attack everything that comes their way. If a horse-drawn sled appears, the Gilyak usually turns to one side and reins in his pack so that they will not pounce on the horses and wound them. Pigs that wander around the Russian villages have particularly good reasons to be afraid of these hunters.

493 The dog equipage usually has the following appearance:the
516 sled (1) is about two to two and one-half meters long, very

1. In the Gilyak language a sled is called tu, but the Russians refer to it as narta which term, I believe, stems from Kamchatka.

narrow, rounded at both ends equally, and is equipped with a knob to fasten the rein. It has no hollow space. The Gilyak straddles it, and holds a stick with a metal point in each hand; he braces himself with his feet and occasionally also with the sticks in order to balance the sled and also guide it in the right direction. The harness consists of a long middle strap and two smaller straps or loops fastened to it, which are slung around the dogs' necks. The middle strap has such a loop at its front end for the foremost or lead-dog. The dog harnesses of the Russians are better, for their loops are more like a hame, so that the dog pulls more with its chest, and a cross strap goes under its belly. The Russians have also modified the sled. The floor of theirs does not consist

493 of long strips like the Gilyak's, but of boards and is enclosed
516 with a rail in back and on the sides, against which the rider can lean. The driver sits sideways in front and holds on to a handle with one hand and grasps his stick with the other. [117]
231 A complete pack consists of 13-15 dogs, but fewer are also
492 used. There are no driving reins, only the stick and the command guide the dogs. If they go too fast the kayur (driver) braces himself with his feet against the snow, if they are to turn right or left the point of the corresponding stick is driven into the snow. The chief command is "takh", "takh" (foreward); "kai" means "turn around", and "chy", slower.

Because of the loose harness, the number of animals and their energy, and the lightness of the sled, the driving of a dog sled is very difficult work.

484 In the back of the sled lies the baggage or the wares, or
492 sits the traveler. (1) Part of the baggage consists of dried

1. In Nikolayevsk and in Sofiyskoye there are Russian kayurs who transport goods and travelers on those winter roads where driving with horses is impossible, for instance to Sakhalin and De Kastri.

fish for the dogs, whose food on the trip consists only of fish and snow. On the run they constantly break wind which has a very obnoxious odor. Their endurance is superb, their only protection against the cold is their own pelt. If on the journey the Gilyak is overtaken by such a bad snow storm that he can go neither forward nor back, he tries to get to a sheltered place in the woods, which wind or snow do not penetrate; there the company remains, the dogs huddled against each other, until the raging storm subsides. However, at times, that is, when food runs out before a way of escape is discovered, men and dogs are sacrificed to the cold. Such cases occur most easily when channels are crossed, and on the island of Sakhalin, when the kayur must usually take along a fish supply for the entire journey.

The lead-dog is the most cautious and intelligent animal of the pack. In dangerous situations a good lead-dog can be counted on; at times he finds the way where to do this seemed utterly impossible. 80-100 rubles are paid for the best lead-dogs; but the usual price for an average pack along with the

484 sled is 70-80 rubles.

492 The chief value of the dog as a draft animal is the fact that he does not sink in so far in deep, loosely-packed snow as the horse, and in general is much more agile, so that a dog-sled finds its way without a road where horses sink in up to their chests and cannot move from the spot. Moreover, one can [118] take along food for the dogs and thus visit uninhabited regions. 13-15 dogs can draw a man and about 30 pood of baggage. However, this applies more to Russian teams, for the Russians feed their animals better (1) and their dogs pull

1. They regard the hind part of the salmon as the best dog food. In drying the salmon, they divide it into three parts: the back and two sides.

with their chests.

481 As is well known, snow shoes are used for walking on the loose snow, for one's foot does not sink in very far. The Gilyak snow shoe consists of a board of larch wood about two arshin long. On the bottom it is covered with seal-skin, the hair of which is turned in such a way as to prevent the shoes from slipping back.

226 VII. Trades and Occupations

286 These consist of hunting, fishing, and the indispensable tasks connected with housekeeping, clothing, etc.

Fishing. Smaller fish such as carp, whiting, etc., are caught with nets. The net is made of nettle thread or hemp fiber. (2) The dried plant is exposed to the frost for a time,

2. Only wild hemp is used.

then it is unraveled and the fibers are spun. The spindle is like that used by the Russians. The long, lower end of the shaft is taken between the legs, the disk is set into motion and at the same time one end of two long strands is tossed over the head of the spinner, while the other end is pressed against the spindle shaft, turned, and wound up. The net is braided with wooden needles. Both tasks are the duties of the women, but sometimes the men also condescend to do them.

226 Carp, pike and whiting are sometimes caught with a fishing rod. Fish roe is used as bait. In places along the coast haddock is also plentiful that there is a special kind of hook used for it. The end of the line is studded with a number of hooks which face in all directions; in winter such a line

226 without any kind of bait on it is lowered into a crack or a hole drilled into the ice and is as a rule immediately pulled up with one or more fish attached to it. [119]

Sturgeon are caught with hooks. Large iron hooks are fastened to pieces of either wood or cork by means of a rope which in turn is held in place by heavy stones deep in the water, that is, not much above the bottom. The sturgeon which goes down deep is, curiously enough, attracted by the moving pieces of wood, he "plays" with them, as the natives say, and thus gets caught by one or another hook. In winter this fish is also caught in strong nets, for at this time it is supposed to be weaker.

The greatest activity occurs at the time of the salmon run. The results of it influences the lives of these people for the rest of the year, therefore whole swarms of Gilyak are to be found on the Amur. The fish are caught by means of enclosures (1): near the shore a row of posts are driven into the

1. Called sayesdka by the Russian fishermen.

river bed; in general the enclosure has this shape ⌐, the open side of it is turned toward the mouth of the river from which the fish comes. The fish bumps against the wall, turns sideways, and is caught in the bag which is lowered from the boat on the inner sides of the enclosure. At the height of the salmon run there are such masses of fish that the bags are filled almost as soon as they are lowered. The fish weighs 8 to 12 or even 20 pounds and costs three to five Kopeck.

226 The women also take part in this catch. There is no partic-
423 ular organization in the matter of assigning the fishing places but care is taken that every head of a family fishes where his father and grandfather did before him; this place in the river is then practically his property.

225 Dolphins are harpooned, but this is considered a difficult
411 hunt. The animal is cautious and does not let the hunter come very near; and should this happen, the wounded animal can easily upset the boat. The harpoon consists of a long hook which has points and barbs at one end and at the other, a rope about 15 fathoms long with a blown-up bladder fastened to it. As is the case in whale fishing, the bladder must show the place where the wounded dolphin went under. When the animal reappears, he is given the finishing blow with harpoons or lances. [120]

225 The seal (1) is caught in several ways. On the island of
411

1. On the Amur it is found only way down at the mouth.

Sakhalin a lance about two to two and one-half fathoms long which is thicker at its lower end is laid into a wooden trough; on the thick end of the lance a 20-30 fathom long strap is fastened. In spring when the ice breaks up, the seal climbs onto land and the Gilyak pursues it, often at the risk of his life, on a boat or over floating ice fields. As soon as he is near enough to it he places the trough which somewhat represents the barrel of a gun, with the lance inside it on the ground, aims and throws the lance while holding the end of the strap with his left hand, so that the animal cannot get too far away.

225 Another method which is practiced, for instance, in the village of Charbakh, below Nikolayevsk-na-Amure is done in the following way: near a place where there are big stones lying on the shore, two stakes are driven into the bottom of the river and between these is spread a sort of sail, behind which the hunter conceals himself. The seal, all unsuspecting, climbs on a stone in order to sun himself and is hit by the lance which is attached to the boat by a long strap.

Finally the seal, when he is sunning himself on a rock, is sometimes killed by means of an endlessly long lance, the lower end of which lies on the shore.

The sea lion frequently is found on the coast of Sakhalin and it is the simplest thing in the world to kill it. The animal is stupid and at the same time inquisitive and lets the hunter come so near that he can beat it to death with a club.

224 The otter is frequently seen on the rivers of the country
225 and its pelt is very much prized. It is shot, sometimes even killed with sticks. Cross-bows are also sometimes set up for it, as for the sable.

224 Of land mammals the bear, the elk, the reindeer, the fox,
554 the musk deer and particularly the sable are hunted.

The bravest men conduct a hand-to-hand fight with the bear and thrust their lance into his breast when he stands up on his hind legs. The scars which a man carries away from such a battle bring him great honor and songs of praise. Most of the men do not attempt this single combat and go after the animal in pairs, and [121] armed with rifles; sometimes the bow and arrow are also used; in any case, it is a dangerous hunt.

224 For the bear festival (see below) live young animals are
527 sought and are raised in a special enclosure. If they cannot be caught in any other way (1), they are sought out together

1. Sometimes young bears roam about so far from their mamas that they can be easily caught.

with the mother bears. The Gilyak wait for winter and then seek out a bear cave. On the appointed day 10-12 Gilyak set out for the cave with lances, hatchets, straps, and several empty dog sleds. They begin to irritate the bear by thrusting long sticks into the cave. Whereupon bruin begins to roar tremendously and starts to leave his cave. At this instant the bravest and strongest of the Gilyak takes his stand close to the entrance with his pelt coat on backwards, and as soon as the bear appears he hurls himself with his chest against the bear's head. The others hurl themselves on their leader and thus the alarmed bear is felled by the combined impact and is soon bound. If he is strong and raging so that he cannot be handled, he is immediately killed. Sometimes a noose is also put around his neck as soon as he appears. If the prisoner was a female with cubs, they are all taken home in sleds.

136 The elk is not found in the lower Amur region, that is, in
224 the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, but is seen somewhat farther up at the Amgun river. It is usually hunted in winter because, like the horse, it can travel only with difficulty in the deep snow, and the Gilyak on his snow shoes can easily overtake it and kill it with his lance. In summer time the animal is killed with rifles. Its meat is very popular and its skin is used for shoes, straps, etc.

The reindeer is also hunted chiefly in winter in the same manner. Occasionally the lance is also thrust at some distance from the target.

The wild boar does not occur on Sakhalin and the lower Amur; however, it appears 40-50 versts above Nikolayevsk. It is hunted with lances and with rifles. Its meat is very popular, its skin, among other things, is used for the shaman drums.[122]

224 The fox is preferably poisoned with the vomic nut which
278 the Gilyak buy from the Chinese. But this poison is not very
439 strong; much faster, in fact almost instantaneous, is the effect of its alkoloid, i.e., strychnine, which Russian fox hunters use but which the Gilyak seldom get hold of. But

13: Seeland--25 E-5 (no date) 1882 Gilyak

224 even this hunt is not as easy as one might think. First of
278 all, the preparation of the bait requires great caution;
439 furthermore, the hunting ground where the bait is left lying about must be frequently visited on snow shoes, for countless crows are usually on the look-out and as soon as the fox succumbs, they pounce on him and his pelt can soon become eaten away.

224 Sometimes cross-bows are set up to catch the fox, but these are not as effective for this animal as for the sable.

Up to now the sable has been one of the most important sources of income for the Gilyak, although the Amur sable is less valuable than that which comes from the Okhotsk and Kamchatka. The sable is hunted in fall and winter. In fall numerous snares are laid; for instance, horse hair among willow shrubs along the rivers. Or a snare is set up in a certain calculated manner. For, the sable, when it wants to cross a small stream never fails to use a log that has fallen across it, if he can find one. Now, such logs are purposely prepared for him, and snares as well.

With the first snow fall he is pursued by dogs and killed with buck shot; the pelt is thus little damaged, for two or three grains of shot suffice to kill the animal.

A method commonly used and one that can be applied all winter long, consists of setting up cross-bows, the mechanism of which is cunningly devised. The shaft stands on a stake; behind the arrow there is a sort of cock made of a knee-shaped piece of wood; on the latter is a trigger from which a long thread leads diagonally forward and down and is fastened somewhere on the ground. As soon as the sable in passing touches the thread, the shot is fired.

136 The tiger is known to the Gilyak and they have a word for
224 it in their language, but it is not hunted, because it occurs
825 only rarely in the Gilyak country, and not at all on Sakhalin, and because they regard it as something more than a wild animal. This fear has probably [123] been passed on to them by the Manchurians and the Goldi. The tiger of the Amur-Ussuri country is of the mightiest and most powerful of its kind, as well as extremely cunning; but for humans, especially for Europeans, it is not nearly as dangerous as it is in India, because it finds more food. (1) Only when man

1. During my annual trips through the coastal area I also came through regions that abounded in tigers and I heard a great many tiger stories. But I

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remember only two instances when Europeans were assaulted by it without having been the attackers. The one case occurred in the year 1878 in broad daylight on the ice near a post station. A post servant was gored by the tiger. The skull of this animal which was itself killed the next day now belongs to me. It measures seven and one-half vershok (33 centimeters), the upper canines are as long as a finger.

himself takes the offensive, does the monster lose his instinctive fear of him, and then suddenly shows all its terrible natural qualities, to which belong an amazing toughness. Even with five or six rifle balls inside it, it still takes enormous leaps, and even in its death throes it can still overcome a man. The bullets bounce off its skull, and one is supposed to aim at its chest, for only one bullet in the heart finishes it off. Thus an open battle with the tiger is so dangerous that bear hunting may be considered child's play in comparison, and the peasants and Cossacks decide on it in dire necessity when the tiger breaks into their stables and cannot be got in any other way. In that case 15-20 men with bayonets on their rifles and in closed ranks descend on the place where the animal was scented. But the regular method of capture is poisoning with strychnin or the setting up of rifles which go off when the tiger approaches the bait. The corpse of an animal that was killed by the tiger himself usually serves as bait, for the tiger has the laudable habit of returning the day after his assault.

The wolf exists on the lower Amur, but rarely shows itself and does no harm. It is seldom shot.

223 Birds, especially ducks and geese, partridges and hazel grouse are now usually shot with rifles. Snares are also set for partridges on flat islands in the willow shrubbery. Hazel grouse are lured in spring with whistles, in winter they are openly hunted in spruce thickets. The Gilyak who live in the surrounding country are the chief purveyors of wild game for Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

462 We mentioned above the other occupations and embryonic handicraft and trades. Specialization [124] consists in not much more than a division of labor between men and women. The man hunts, does carpentry, makes weapons, sleds, etc.,

462 takes trips on various business matters, and so forth; he also takes care of fishing. The woman spins, makes nets and clothing, cooks, takes care of the children and the dogs.
286 Weaving is entirely unknown to the Gilyak, artificial ma-
326 terials, such as twine and needles are bought; the latter,
463 moreover, they formerly fashioned in a very primitive manner. In general it can be said that every Gilyak man and woman knows how to do all the work necessary for their existence, although not in the same degree. For instance, with respect to metal work: everyone knows how to make a knife, not everyone can make a hatchet, and only a few, finally, concern themselves with the making of a jew's harp (to be described below) and the more intricate weapons, as for example lances with silver decorations.

372 This is the place for us to say something of fire-making. The Gilyak customarily wears a pouch on his belt, containing flint, steel and tinder. The birch fungus is used as tinder, flint is found in abundance on the banks of the Amur. If they should lack fire tools they make fire, just as other primitive peoples do, by friction. A dry stick, on both ends of which is tied a bit of fungus, is put into a groove on a block of wood; one person holds the stick upright, another winds a string around it, takes the ends of the string in his hands and makes a sawing motion back and forth. Usually fire is produced after a half hour.

IX. Weapons

411 The Gilyak customarily carries no other weapon except his knife which is seldom used for defense. The knife consists of a pointed blade and a wooden handle. The blade and half the handle are carried in a leather sheath which is worn on the belt. To the actual weapons belong lances, bows and arrows and at present also the gun which many of them have obtained.

The bow is made of wood but has an underlayer of whale bone which is glued to the wood with fish glue. They like best to use ash wood (frax. mandshurica). On the inner, i. e., the whale bone side not far from the ends there are two [125] small grooved strips for the bow string. The unstretched bow is bent so that the whale bone faces outward, but in use it is on the inside, otherwise it might be damaged. The string consists of intertwined sinews of rope. It requires some effort to stretch the bow, and the shot is powerful. The arrow has three small feathers at one end, the other end is somewhat thicker and has an iron point which is barbed, but

411 instead of this point some arrows have a crescent-shaped
piece of pointed iron. This latter device is used for duck
325 shooting, if there is no powder to be had. On the hunt the
411 arrows are usually kept in a quiver, which usually does not
439 hold more than three. It consists of a flat and hollowed-out
531 small board and is usually decorated on the outside with
various designs or figures of animals. It is fastened to the
belt.

The lance consists of a shaft about one and three-quarters meters long with a flat iron tip. Some lances made by Gilyak are artfully decorated with silver and gold figures. Moreover, all weapons except firearms are made by the Gilyak themselves. Forging is done simply at the domestic hearth, but the fire is kindled with a bellows. Iron is bought from the Chinese or Russians. Occasionally fragments of Chinese pots are made over into knives, etc.

178 Finally, I must mention the shield of which few examples
411 are still to be found among the Gilyak. These shields are
422 very heavy, probably close to 35-40 pounds, very crudely
439 fashioned, and consist of iron rings. They come from China and at present have no practical value because no one thinks of carrying them. Nevertheless they are regarded as something very valuable and are estimated at 200 rubles. It has happened that the owner of such a shield has pawned it to a Russian merchant, but as soon as he got some money, bought it back.

X. Marriage and the Rearing of Children

58 Men who have reached middle age are seldom unmarried, and it is even rarer to find married men with four or five wives, for this requires a certain amount of means; besides, there are too few women. The beginning of a [126] marriage requires the payment of a ransom (kalym). This does not consist of money, but of certain necessary items-weapons, dog sleds, etc. An average kalym amounts to 200-300 rubles. There are no special marriage ceremonies, but the wedding celebrations which must also be paid for by the bridegroom last a rather long time, -a week or more. Besides millet, fish and tea, a great deal of alcohol is consumed.

A curious, although not altogether unique custom are marriages between four and five year old children. As soon as the parents reach an agreement, a boy and girl are pronounced man and wife. The father of the boy pays the kalym and takes the girl with him, in order to bring her up with her "husband"; sometimes, however, she remains a few more

58 years in her parental home. At what time such married couples actually enter the marital state is difficult to say. Probably, however, it is determined by the awakening sex
582 impulse. The Gilyak believe that a 30-year-old man (which means a 15-year-old, because the Gilyak's year corresponds to our half year) can marry. However, this is also only an approximation, for they do not actually count their years. A merchant who for a long time associated with the Gilyak and who had a good memory and a gift of observation, told me that he knew of two married couples, the partners of which he had known since childhood. The woman of one of them had a child at the age of 15, the other woman was 20 years old and complained that her husband who was 14 was not yet a man. I, too, was shown 15-year-old boys with half child-like features and narrow shoulders and was told that they could marry if they found a bride. We may conclude that marriage is permissible during puberty, but actually this does not often occur. At least among men there are not infrequent examples of mature individuals (around 23 -25 years old) who are still unmarried. Cases where the woman is older are rare, but the opposite often occurs. In fact, some mature men take four or five-year-old girls and rear them until they reach womanhood.

As far as marriage between close relatives is concerned, it is known that cousins marry, but that the older generation does not favor this; thus these people must also have had experiences pertaining to the harmfulness of such marriages. An uncle may be permitted to marry his niece. [127]

586 Women are in general well treated by men; partly because
595 the Gilyak customs bear the mark of instinctive humanity,
562 party because divorce is very easy. The wife of a tyrannical husband will soon be abducted by an admirer who usually settles with the husband for the payment of kalym. It happens now and then that a well-to-do man has several wives, but only lives with his favorite one and keeps the others as workers. Soon, however, this leads to quarrels, and the neglected ones make an effort to get out of the situation. In all other respects, however, even such workers are well treated, especially because they are needed. As long as a woman can work, and particularly if she is skillful at needle work, she can always find a husband.

562 In general one may conclude that, theoretically, the Gilyak
587 woman seems to be regarded as somewhat inferior to the man, but actually this has no practical effects; on the contrary, the opposite is often the case. The inferiority of women is reflected in the payment of kalym, which is

562 really a sort of purchase. Moreover, the widow is in a
587 manner of speaking inherited by the brother or other close relative of the deceased. But this inheritance is more a matter of habit; if the widow wishes to marry another, she may do so, but he must pay back the kalym. The woman also does not take part in the more important councils. On the other hand, she may occupy an independent and respected position; she can, for instance, become a shaman. She may have her own money and inherit, although usually less than her brothers. If a widow does not wish to marry at all any more, she is not only permitted to do as she wishes, but even wins respect thereby.

584 In the case of a girl given in marriage by her parents,
557 their wishes are usually the determining factor, and the wealthy
562 man is favored. But even though the girl's taste is not particularly considered, there are usually no unfavorable consequences, because, as we said, if a woman is ill-treated she lets herself be abducted by an admirer. In ordinary affairs, the woman shows subservience to the man; in her sphere she is entirely independent and in the family council her opinion counts for no less than that of her husband.

832 The forms of greeting and manifestations of affection be-
576 tween man and [128] woman are very primitive and austere, as is
593 the case in general among the Gilyak. Kissing and handshaking are done only on special occasions, of which we shall speak later. Men and women very seldom kiss; even when the man takes leave or returns from a journey there is no embrace, no kiss, and no handshake, only good wishes are exchanged and even these are rather cool. However, there are other forms of caresses, which will hardly find approval. In tender moments, the woman looks for lice in the man's hair and cracks the game thus hunted between her teeth. Sometimes, the reverse occurs, and the man does it to his lady. Another expression of tenderness consists in washing each other's face with saliva.

578 The abduction of a woman always occurs with her full con-
586 sent. During the absence of the husband, the admirer suddenly appears with some companions, the lady is set in the sled or in the boat, and the party disappears. However, some men do not so easily submit to their fate, they pursue the abducted woman and attempt to win possession of her once more by means of cunning or even force. Some men seek revenge, and the result is a struggle and even death, but this is unusual. Quarrels among the Gilyak usually stem from some such causes. If the run-away couple succeed in hiding

578 out somewhere in the taiga for a whole year, the consensus
586 usually favors them and the first husband must abandon his
claims. In recent years many Gilyak have resorted to a
177 special ruse in order to make sure of their wives. Such
586 chaps who are probably not of the best and who may thus be
797 faced with the prospect of eventually being deserted by their
wives, have themselves baptized by a Russian priest, because they know that, according to the Greek religion, marriage must be permanent, and they would consequently, in case of desertion, be entitled to the ispravnik's protection. However, it is doubtful whether this maneuver will help them much in the long run, for such baptized individuals who later have no intention of keeping their Christianity alive, are soon forgotten in official circles. No one knows who or where they are, the wilderness is vast, and looking for them is more than troublesome.

If the abducted woman had had children by her first marriage, these usually remain with the father. [129]

171 Child training. Toward the end of her pregnancy, a
844 woman is taken out of the house for 10 (1) days and brought to
183
343

1. The duration of this exile is not the same everywhere. From some Gilyak I learned that eight days sufficed; on the island of Sakhalin, however, 12 days were given.

a hut made of birch bark, in which a small fire is burning. This custom which is known to exist among other primitive peoples, for instance among the Ostyaks, is, up to the present, very strictly observed by the Gilyak even in winter during the most severe cold, as a result of which the newly-born child often freezes to death. Conceivably a child which survives such a test must be strong. The mother also proves by this what rigors these people are capable of enduring. During her entire stay in the hut only women are permitted to come to her, often she must be her own mid-wife. No one could tell me the actual meaning of this custom: most probably it cannot be explained on the basis of "impurity" of the woman, but it is related to another superstition of which we shall speak later, and which was originally perhaps some hygienic regulation. That no mystical idea of "impurity" underlies it may be seen from the fact that when the woman
854 returns to her house she undergoes no "purifying" ritual.
515 The bathing of the newly-born is also done in the impro-
302 vised lying-in establishment, and it is given its other baths there.

854 Nursing infants are bathed twice daily, but, on the other
515 hand, larger children are seldom bathed. Adult Gilyak
302 consider bathing a luxury, some never do it and leave it to chance, if they are caught in the rain or fall in the water; some, however, wash occasionally, even with soap which they buy from the Russians. They comb their hair with a wooden (Chinese) comb and at the same time rub it with fat and hunt for lice. They do not by any means comb their hair every day.

854 Children nurse for about two years. Tiny babies are kept in a cradle which stands on the floor, but as soon as they are three to four months old they are placed in a trough-like bed. The little trough is open at one end and somewhat pointed; on the other end it has a hole in the bottom. The [130] child is laid with its back against the bottom, its head against the open end; it is tied down and the whole thing is hung up slantwise. The hole serves as a conduit. When the mother leaves the house for a longer time, she ties this cradle to her back.

868 When the Gilyak lad no longer needs his mother's care,
276 he begins to accompany his father on trips and thus gradually
147 learns what he needs for his life. Many children even smoke but all fathers do not permit this. (1)

> 1. The disciples of a one-sided etiology of disease might cite the Gilyak as living examples of the harmlessness of tobacco:this race is on the average healthier than civilized man, their teeth are white and strong, and yet both sexes smoke from childhood. Nevertheless, this would be a false inference: a single given cause always has a different effect according to the mode of living in general. Thus, for instance, the effect of a strong cigar is very different if one smokes outside in cold weather or sitting in a warm room doing head work. In the latter case it will soon lead to nervous palpitation. Furthermore, the organic constitution with which a person is equipped must be taken into consideration. Civilized man would have to live through the tests which the Gilyak endures at birth in order to be compared with him.

855 The parents are tender and indulgent with their children.
524 The children are kissed by their mothers, licked with saliva,

855 and deloused. They are never cuffed, it seems, or punished
524 with the rod. Nor can it be said that boys take priority in their parents' affections. The play and activity of the children consists of bathing (in summer), of scuffling and romping about in the sand and snow, and of imitating their elders, especially in archery. Occasionally their mother sews them a leather ball which they knock about with a stick on the flat ground or on the ice. The children also make themselves willow whistles.

674 [222] XI. Morality and Crime.

Crimes are rare and neither manifold nor refined. This negative side of morality is less developed among these natural people than the positive side, that is, moral traits of character. Some of these we touched on in previous chapters; we should now like to consider them in detail.

152 First of all, the Gilyak are a brave people. Not everyone, it is true, decides to attack the bear single-handed with his lance, but for two people to set out against the bear, armed with rifles- this is a very common thing. The seal hunt on Sakhalin is often linked with great danger because of the floating ice. Even traveling along the coast of the Amur in windy weather with the kind of vessels the Gilyak have is certainly not without danger, especially if one remembers what poor swimmers the Gilyak are.

It cannot be said that resignation and patience in the endurance of bodily pain falls entirely within the realm of morality, for it can also be a result of insensitivity of the nervous system; nevertheless, a certain self-effacement in such instances is not to be denied. And the Gilyak bear suffering extremely well. Not only hunger and physical pain, but the ailments connected with the latter, they endure steadfastly. Loss of eye-sight, paralysis of the limbs. etc., do not call forth lamentations or complaints. [223]

592 The quiet way in which several families live in one house,
578 or more accurately, in one room, already points to
888 peaceableness and forbearance. I repeatedly heard neighboring peasants praise the Gilyak for these characteristics; and they marveled particularly that the "women folk got along together". The house usually belongs to one owner, but the occupants do not pay him anything, they merely help him with repairs, wood cutting, etc. The old people of both sexes in the house are sometimes called the "masters of the house". In general, old people are respected. They are not permitted to work, they are given all they need, and their advice is followed.

758 Help in need is decidedly more the order of the day than
763 it is with us civilized people. If someone has undeservedly
735 become poor, he is immediately assisted, and debts are paid for relatives. Likewise people who have become incapable of work because of illness are assured support by relatives and neighbors. The sick, in general, are eagerly nursed; only when the death agony begins, the dying person is subjected to a harsh ordeal. He is carried out of the house into the open and is left there at any time of the year, until he is dead. This custom is based on the belief that a dead person brings ill-luck to the house, and in case a person dies indoors, the house must be taken down. However, the sick person who is subjected to these measures is usually already in a comatose state. It appears, that child-bearing women are removed from the house for similar reasons.

752 In danger and suffering the Gilyak also help the non-Gilyak
766 to say nothing of their fellow-tribesmen. I must mention two
609 exceptions. I heard repeatedly from Russians that a Gilyak on the point of drowning could not count on help from his people, in fact, the Gilyak watch him going under, with fatalistic calm, and comfort themselves by saying that "he is needed above." Besides, it is said that the Sakhalin-Gilyaks take care not to help a man who has fallen into the clutches of a bear, because they see in it a divine punishment. One who is killed in this way is not cremated but must be buried together with the body of the bear, should he also be killed; at the same time they scatter about pieces of bear flesh and scraps of the dead man's clothing. The Gilyak whom I questioned about drowning persons, unanimously testified [224] that they always helped them as much as they could and they showed me several people who had been rescued because help had been sent them from the shore. Furthermore, in the case of a man who has been attacked by a bear being left to his fate, we must take into consideration the fact that the custom of two or three people going out to hunt a bear presupposes mutual aid. The question deserves to be further investigated, but nevertheless I believe that the afore-mentioned fatalism does not appear in all cases, only in certain instances where superstition was awakened for some specific reason.

The Gilyak help not only their fellow-tribesmen but also strangers in time of distress as much as they can. They repeatedly saved the lives of run-away convicts, for which they were often wretchedly rewarded besides. More of this later.

Hospitality is decidedly practised.

577 As far as deceit is concerned, it is very rare among them-
426 selves but is practiced against Russians. The cheating
609 usually consists in a Gilyak asking for a loan of money from
186 a Russian, promising him fish, sable, etc., in return and
then not reappearing. However, one is not justified in assuming from this that the Gilyak have two different moral standards, which would contradict our previous statements. The discrepancy may be much more simply explained. To sell something at too high a price to a Russian or to take his money and not return it, - such things many Gilyak take the liberty of doing because they think Russians in general are mightier and wealthier than themselves and they feel that for this reason they would be forgiven. But more frequently they are motivated by the feeling that civilized persons would be the first to cheat them. Russian and Chinese merchants often played nasty tricks on them, in fact it has happened that a Gilyak lost all patience and control and hurled himself on his shameless creditor in order to make an end to the latter's
577 ever-increasing demands. It is actually surprising that,
609 having been taught by such masters, the majority of Gilyak
177 nevertheless refrain from cheating, and this fact is highly appreciated by decent Russians. Often I heard peasants of neighboring villages say: "The Gilyak are in general more honest than our sort, especially those who live in distant villages [225], for they do not even permit themselves to cheat strangers." (1) However, one must

1. I myself had the following experience. I bought some ear-rings from a Gilyak woman and gave her a ruble in paper money because I had no change. The woman took the money with some astonishment. Somewhat later when the little steamer with which I had arrived weighed anchor, the woman suddenly appeared rowing toward me in a boat and called out to me that the ear-rings were "not silver, just ordinary ones". Obviously she did not want to be taken for a swindler.

not believe that the peasants are generally dishonest; on the contrary, they are an upright people, which

577 makes the comparison even more valuable. Unfortunately,
609 there have been cases where Gilyak have been wronged
177 by decent people, for example by soldiers who had before that behaved properly. The causes for that may be found in the peculiar manner in which the uncultivated individual regards strange peoples. He is to a certain extent inclined to regard foreigners as outlaws. However, this fact has in recent times been badly misused and misinterpreted by some philosophers. We have pointed out how the Gilyak themselves were able to put themselves in the place of strangers as well as fellow-tribesmen, and to sympathize with them. But one must remember that, where strangers are concerned, moral impulses such as compassion, the sharing of pleasures, the sense of justice, etc., more than ever make room for the egoistic impulses. Everything that tends to repress understanding and sympathy-greed, vindictiveness, etc. - breaks out more easily if one is
177 face to face with strangers. The Gilyak unfortunately
682 put their worst foot forward in their first acquaintance
627 with the civilized world. The French missionary, Le Brunière, who in the year 1848 came from China by way of the Amur and the Ussuri to the Gilyak was robbed and murdered out of pure lust for booty. But this case was and has remained an exception. The village of Vaida (32 versts from the present city of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure) still has about 200 inhabitants; at that time it was larger by a third, and seven or eight men took part in the crime, of which none is living.

Actually murder seldom occurs. Most cases are caused by quarrels over the fair sex. The relatives of the murdered one formerly resorted to revenge; now, however, they usually file complaints with the Russian administration. [226]

548 Prostitution in its real sense does not exist; however
837 passing amours are not too much forbidden. A Gilyak
684 woman whose husband is away probably lets herself be persuaded by a passer-by, and the husband himself is not too much offended, provided only that there are no consequences. In general, virginity and chastity have a certain value, but minor transgressions are not taken very seriously. However if a woman gives herself completely to a stranger she is persecuted.

548 On Sakhalin it happened that the Gilyak meant to kill such
837 a Helen who lived with a Russian soldier and bore him
684 a child.

Sodomy, onanism and similar perversions seem to be un-
839 known among the Gilyak. Those whom I questioned about them regarded me with astonishment and did not know what I was talking about.

514 As for modesty, it varies according to the type referred
834 to. In sexual matters it is not very pronounced, as we have already pointed out. First of all, the crowded way in which people live together does not permit such delicacy; however the Gilyaks try to hide their love-making from strangers. Their natural functions they do not exactly perform in the open, but they are not particularly ashamed in front of members of the opposite sex. Men as well as women squat in urinating. Women, at any rate younger women, guard against exposing their bodies before strange men. I had some difficulty in persuading them to do this when I was taking body measurements.

177 It is impossible to study the more subtle expressions of
437 modesty in all their forms, but it seems that the Gilyak are
183 most of all ashamed of being taken for thieves and cowards.
576 Their entire character and cycle of habits is such that fawning and self-degradation are foreign to them. They do not make much of genuflection, but do it largely when they are forced to. Thus those Gilyak who decide to travel up the Sungari to the Chinese with their fur must, as a matter of course, bow before the Chinese officials. And probably the Chinese are responsible for teaching them such humiliating expressions of veneration. [227]

735 Begging is practically non-existent among the Gilyak. The
273 only specimen one can see begging is the so-called Vanika-Gilyak, a degenerated half-idiot who goes begging along the streets of Nikolayevsk-na-Amure and who long since has deserted his countrymen. He is also the only one who can be seen in a drunken state, swaying and noisily roaming about. In general drunkenness has not taken root to such an extent that there are professional alcoholics, and this is probably partly because Gilyak cannot have spirits whenever they want, for it necessitates a trip to the Russians. But they love liquor very much, and unfortunately it is to be foreseen that this habit will become wide-spread.

623 XII. Councils, Jurisdiction, Duels, Prosecution
681 of Criminals

Meetings and councils are seldom held. If they are, they

623 usually concern abductions of women or major transgres-
681 sions and crimes. Women do not take part in them. The opinions of the older generation usually are decisive. In cases of particular importance the Gilyaks of surrounding villages are drawn in. The penalties for crimes consist of fines in money for the plaintiffs, in banishment of the guilty one from the village, or in a sort of ostracism which results in a cessation of all intercourse with him. Occasionally, though rarely, the death penalty is pronounced, but this is of course kept a secret from the Russian administration. As for corporal punishment, the Gilyak are no adherents of the idea. It is sometimes applied, but there is evidence that formerly it was never used.

578 Quarrels between men sometimes lead to a duel. It is
411 conducted in the presence of witnesses. The weapon used is the kaur, but in this case they fight with the end which does not have the iron point. The challenger deals the first blow, the blows are parried as much as possible with the stick. The fight usually continues until blood is drawn or one of the fighters is stunned and reels. This fight seldom ends in death. Sometimes when two Gilyak get very angry- which, however, seldom happens- they reach for their knives and begin stabbing each other in disregard of any kind of rules. [228]

563 A sad spectacle are the man-hunts, i.e., persecution of
177 fleeing Russian criminals, which the Gilyak also sometimes carry on. Such refugees or so-called broydagi (i.e., loafers) are a common sight on all large highways in Siberia and the direction they take is always the same, that is, from east to west. Most of them are convicts who have escaped from forced labor. Since the island of Sakhalin was chosen as the chief deportation center for non-political criminals, these brodyagi also pass through the Amur region. Very few of them escape in order to go back to their homes, i.e., European Russia. Even though the thought of home, of their native villages and families may arouse warm, tender emotions in even the most hardened criminals, nevertheless, these refugees know too well the possibility of arrest to entertain great hopes. The usual practical goal which they hold up to themselves is-not to be recognized in case of arrest and thus to be put in the general class of brodyagi in which they would also be condemned to hard labor, but only for a few years, after which they could become Siberian citizens. Others, finally, escape without any particular

563 hopes, merely from an ungovernable yen for liberty and
177 diversion, although they know they will be only too easily
recognized and will only earn a more severe punishment.
563 The hardships and dangers which these unfortunate ones
609 must sometimes endure, especially in winter, are hair-
177 raising and some of the stories which they tell as though
they were nothing unusual, sound like epics. A large
number of them perish. One of the dangers which they must
guard against in the Amur country and the Transbaykal is
persecution at the hands of the natives, in which activity
particularly those kinsmen of the Huns, the wild Buryats
on Lake Baykal, distinguish themselves. To them, a
brodyaga is as good as wild game, they aim at him wherever
they meet him, and take whatever they find on the dead man.
They do this with all assurance for they know that the deed
will not be investigated. In recent times this bestial custom
has also crept in among the Goldi and the Gilyak. The
brodyagi themselves gave the impetus to these animosities.
Most of them are perfectly docile, peaceable human beings
who are glad if [229] they are left alone, and are therefore
little feared by the Russians themselves; they are given a
night's lodging, a hunk of bread, and no one thinks of notify-
ing an official. Now among these "unfortunate ones" (1)

> 1. This is what they are called by the Siberians, some of whom are themselves descendants of exiles and have had experiences of their own which corroborate the words of Staël "tout savoir c'est tout pardonner".

there are sometimes real villains who cannot conceal their
wolf-like nature. Furthermore, among deportees there are
not infrequently to be found people who are simply pathologi-
cal, suffering from homicidal mania, who belong anywhere
but in a penal colony. Such ugly customers make trouble
when they escape. There have been cases where entire
Gilyak families were murdered even by those who were
hospitably received by the natives. As a result, it is easy
to imagine that the Gilyak also began playing a different
tune. After such precedents, greed and rapacity may now
and then also have arisen in the soul of the savage, even
though such a refugee would not have been carrying much.
Thus the brodyagi now avoid the native villages, and if they
are forced to pass near-by, they go in bands and take

563 general precautions. Nevertheless, it happens that now
609 and then one of these unfortunates is shot down in the woods
177 by Gilyaks, even though the majority of them would not think of concerning themselves with such a disgraceful hunt.

181 XIII Economic and Social Conditions.

671 Among Gilyak there is no question of a body of laws, to say nothing of written statutes. Nevertheless, common law which functions in place of fixed statutes is equitable and just. The shadow of a prerogative may be felt only where it is accompanied by real qualities. But even the preponderance of natural talents is very modest; the race consists of individuals among whom the capabilities as well as the assets which are given them by nature are pretty evenly distributed.

556 There are "rich" and "poor" Gilyak, but these terms must
595 be interpreted in a very limited sense. A wealthy man who is in a position to support three to four wives is a rare exception. The "rich" man, besides having a greater number of wives, possesses objects which have a certain value, such as "beautiful" clothes [230], many and good dogs, etc. and sometimes quite useless objects which are kept merely for effect, as, for instance, lengths of cloth of gold (which in Greek churches are used for various decorations). The above-mentioned clumsy lances belong to such luxury articles. There are many rich men who keep on hand a couple hundred silver rubles in a box.

735 Contrariwise, there are very few Gilyak who are not
438 capable of supporting a single wife or even themselves.
556 Such individuals are either sick or alcoholics, for there are
261 no actual reasons for external poverty: fish, game, wood, berries etc., are everywhere to be found, but of course one must obtain them with one's own efforts. A scarcity of fish is a rare exception among the Amur-Gilyak. It happens in those years in which the kita is scarce (this usually coincides with very high water). The Sakhalin-Gilyak often have reason to complain of a scarcity, for there the various species of salmon, even in ordinary years, do not come up the rivers in such numbers. On the other hand, they have more bears, and thus the island Gilyak are in a position to trade young bears for dried fish with their mainland kinsmen.

If there are not enough fish, the Gilyak eats cedar nuts, berries, game, etc. All these are of course only a poor substitute, but in any case we cannot speak of actual "famines" here.

461 Under ordinary circumstances it takes little effort on the
563 part of the Gilyak to nourish himself and his family. It is
512 only during the salmon run that the Gilyak works hard,
during the rest of the time only the women are industrious.
The men often sleep at home during the day, and they get
up after sunrise. In the evening, however, they often sit
up a long time and chat. Well-to-do mainland Gilyak some-
times even hire Russian workmen. The men who work for
gold-seekers are discharged in the autumn and could live
quite well throughout the winter on their pay, but it never
occurs to them to save; in a few weeks everything is spent
and then they do not know what to do. Such hungry chaps
often wander as far as the Gilyak villages and pledge them-
selves to cut wood and do odd jobs in exchange for board.
464 Gilyak hate monotonous work. In the vicinity of Nikolayevsk-
426 na-Amure [231] they sometimes turn to haying in order to
567 earn something; but as for digging, wood cutting, sawing
and similar work, they do not let themselves be enticed into
it even for good wages. This, moreover, shows that they
are ordinarily not in great straits. The Gilyak almost never
trade on a commission basis.

Among themselves they are very punctual about paying.
If a debtor dies or becomes incapable of working, his
relatives endeavor to pay off his debts. They know nothing
whatever of going into bondage or slavery because of debt.

428 The law of inheritance is very simple. The father's
587 property goes to the children if they no longer have a mother.
If the children are under age, their uncle or some other
close relative is their guardian and later returns their prop-
erty if it has not been entirely used up. If a widow is left
with children, the property remains intact in the family,
and the mother is called "the elder" in possession. If the
widow is childless she keeps a small part, about an eighth
of the fortune, the rest belongs to the relatives of the de-
ceased. If she wishes to enter a new marriage, the brother
or some other close relative of the husband becomes, as we
said, her second spouse, but if she already has children,
they keep the estate of their father. If she is poor and does
not wish to re-marry, she must be helped, and this help
428 she usually pays off in work as best she can. If a father
583 whose wife died earlier leaves a son or daughter, the estate
is usually divided upon the daughter's marriage. In this
case, the relatives of the bride look over the bridegroom.
If they regard him as irreproachable, the bride gets half,
but if he is not of the best sort, she gets less, probably in

428 order that he may not squander the property. On Sakhalin,
583 only the sons inherit the parents, and the daughters are married off. If after the death of the parents only one daughter is left behind, she usually gets part of the estate upon her marriage, the rest is kept by the relatives who took care of her. In any case, if the bride has a dowry, the man has no right to it; he can get hold of it only by going against the wishes of his wife.

428 In the matter of succession, it is true, the procedure is not everywhere and always [232] the same, but in general one can draw the following conclusions from what has been said: a) the children take precedence over other relatives; b) the brothers take precedence over their sisters, provided the latter marry and thus share the fortune of their husband; c) the joint usufruct of the estate on the part of the nearest relatives is very common; d) women may inherit and have their own property, but in general they are not left as much; however, they have the right to be supported; e) widows can demand their own share, but usually they become joint owners of the estate along with their children.

565 The Gilyak are all of one class. There are no privileged
551 classes or families. There are families, now and then, who
177 are held in great esteem because of wealth, courage, or because their ancestor was founder of the village, but they have no real privileges of any kind. Such families also have family names (which are handed down by the males); many Gilyak, however, have only one single name to which is added the name of their village, to distinguish them from outsiders. Some of them, whether they are baptized or not, are given this or that Russian name besides their Gilyak one, and by this name they are known even among their fellow-tribesmen. These "Petkas," "Mikitas", etc., are usually intelligent lads and understand Russian.

567 In like manner, there are no slaves, nor have there ever
554 been any among these people. Only personal qualities,
576 either bravery, wealth, age, or intelligence, give the individual a certain significance. Wealth may be regarded with a certain esteem, since it is usually acquired as a result of real superiority, - either courage, industry or judgment. Toward aristocrats of wealth a certain external ceremony is occasionally observed. If such a person comes for a visit, both he and the host bow after a fashion, whereupon he holds up his cheek to be kissed; he himself does not kiss the other.

567 However, there are no forms or obligatory expressions of
554 esteem of any kind. In general, a kiss, bow, or hand-shake
576 are, as we said, not often used by Gilyak.

Beside the aged, the rich, and the brave, shamans are
756 especially esteemed, but here again we see reflected the
184 respect [233] which is paid a superior mind. The shamans do not form a separate, exclusive class but live like other people, but they draw an additional income from their craft. It frequently happens that the shaman is also the son of a shaman and has, in a manner of speaking inherited his "science". Some, however, become students of another shaman for a considerable sum, still others become impromptu shamans whenever the "power" descends on them. Women can also become shamans, as we have said. It is arranged so that large villages have their own shaman, whereas several smaller ones fall within the territory of one shaman.

The work of these priests is probably rooted partly in self-delusion, but in any case there is a considerable addition of intentional deception.

756 Fortunately they themselves, although smarter than the
576 rest, are not very superior, and can therefore not teach the
554 people anything very harmful, nor have they been able to make a privileged place for themselves. The shaman's advice is sought where every-day experience does not prove adequate, but the counsellor is not generally treated with great veneration. Most of the shamans are received without any kind of greeting, only famous ones are met with a bow; beyond Sofiyskoye there was even one before whom the whole house went on its knees when he appeared at the door in order to perform his magic. In general the shamans not only enjoy a certain esteem, but they are also feared. Nevertheless, there are cases where people refused to pay a shaman because of his false predictions and his ineptitude, and sometimes shamans are even flogged. Their magic practices will be considered later.

622
177 Finally, there are the "starosti" (1), that is, elders who

1. This is a Russian word.

are appointed by officials. They are, however, not actual mayors; they have nothing to say and are scarcely more than intermediaries through whom the official gives his orders to the community, for these starosti speak Russian well and are in general intelligent people. [234]

151 XIV Amusements and Festivities. Burial Ceremonies.

Among such peoples physical pleasures, naturally, take a most important place, and foremost among the e are the joys of eating and smoking. They are not very sensitive to odors, for fish, smoke, and seal blubber to them have an indifferent, or even an agreeable odor. But they abhor the odor of decay, and conversely, they like a nice fragrance. Whenever I experimentally held a bottle of eau-de-cologne up to their noses, they always made a pretty face.

822 Among colors, the Gilyak prefer red and blue, but they definitely do not belong to those peoples who go in for bright colors. For instance, many of them could acquire a red shirt or caftan instead of the dirty-blue ones, but it would never occur to them to do this. The colored borders and curlicues on the caps and petticoats of the women suffice; otherwise clothes, houses, weapons, and tools are dark-colored. A black dog pelt as a coat is, as I have said, regarded as particularly beautiful.

534 The Gilyak love music. If neighboring Russian peasants strum their balalaikas or play the accordian, the natives who are present like to listen. Their own music is very primitive. It consists of a sort of jew's harp which looks somewhat like a longish horseshoe. The broad end of the instrument is grasped with one hand, the narrow end is placed on the lips, the tongue of the player is placed forward somewhat, while one finger of the other hand alternately pulls and releases the little hook connected with the tongue of the instrument. The tongue vibrates and a low buzzing tone results, which can be modified by the tongue of the player. Not everybody knows how to play on this "harmonica".

Other quite embryonic music, or rather, clinking noise, is produced as follows: a thin dry tree trunk is suspended parallel to the ground by ropes, and on this they beat rhythmically with a stick. During the bear festival the audience is edified with this sort of "music": some woman who has a talent for this, calls together a troupe of children and, as though under the baton of a conductor, lets them hit
533 the limb with sticks. In winter time on a journey, the Gilyak often sings a monotonous song which actually consists only of all kinds of unrelated sentences about anything that happens to occur to him [235] or that he sees. Actual songs that are handed down from father to son the Gilyak do not possess, and in general they are stingy with their singing. I never heard them sing in the village, their houses, or on their

533 boats. However, there are some to be found among them
who are considered singers; they are improvisors of a sort
who entertain the others with their song.

535 The dance does not exist among the Gilyak, unless one in-
201 cludes in this category the spontaneous leaps with which a
517 tipsy one occasionally cools off his exuberance. There is a
521 reason for the Gilyak's facial expression of which we spoke
above. It is neither sullen nor sad, but also not unhappy
or good natured; it is serious or indifferent. But I must
hasten to add that this immobility and indifference only
reaches to a certain point. The Gilyak's imagination and
his sense of humor are not immediately apparent, but in
reality he possesses both. The favorite pastime on winter
evenings is listening to a story teller, and his voice is
alternately interrupted by laughter and exclamations.

527 Holidays and festivals. There are no special rest days
787 which would, for instance, correspond to our Sundays.
483 The bear festival is the only one worthy of this name. It is
celebrated once a year during our January, it lasts two
weeks and is accompanied by various entertainments. Young
bears which, as we said, are brought up for this festival,
are taken direct from their caves or they are bought from
Sakhalin kinsmen. Occasionally 100 rubles are paid for a
one-year-old. Young bruin is put into a hollowed-out tree
trunk to which he is fastened with a chain, and thus he is
transported by sled. The yurts where this traveler halts are
considered particularly lucky. It has happened now and then
that the bear, because of negligence on the part of the people
transporting him, has crushed a child to death, but such
accidents are not mourned by the parents, who regard it as
a good omen.

527 The bear is kept in a special enclosure in his new home.
231 An old woman is appointed to feed him and give him water.
The latter is offered him in a long wooden spoon which is
inserted through a little opening. His chief food consists of
dried fish, sometimes he also gets millet and various
scraps. [236]

Not all villages have bears, therefore people from different
villages usually assemble for the festival, even from those
places that had their own bear festival and had already con-
sumed their bear. Often Sakhalin-Gilyak come to the main-
land at this time, although they themselves are well supplied
with bears.

527 Besides feasts, various amusements take place at the
541 festival; for instance, dog races. A track is cleared on the
437 ice and staked off, and the trained dogs run for wagers.

527 Sometimes the dogs also draw sleds in these races.
541 Dog racing, besides being an amusement also has a prac-
437 tical significance, for the good runners find immediate buyers. In fact, the bear festival is a sort of fair, where various things are bartered.
527 The chief figure of the festival, namely the bear, is well-
825 fed throughout the whole period and is repeatedly led through the village, at which time he pays a call at each house and this is done in such a way that he has to go from one house to another at an angle, by way of the adjacent section of the river. This symbolic procedure assures the house of "an abundance of fish". He is always led by several men who put up the necessary number of chains and ropes on all sides. In the houses he is treated to fish, millet, and cranberries, and sometimes he is also teased. Some Gilyak also prostrate themselves before him. This is by no means worship, however, as some have assumed. Some do it for fun, some in earnest, calling on the spirit of the bear not to seek revenge on them after he is dead. Sometimes the bear is not given such expressions of veneration.
527 When the bear's immolation nears, he is tied to a stick
782 which has been driven in the ice, and then he is shot with
766 arrows. In this procedure the archers seek to outdo themselves. At last the unfortunate bruin is given a merciful blow with a lance. He usually dies in peace and majesty, with his fore-paws resting on his wounded chest. When this happens the woman who has had charge of him is often heard to weep loudly. Finally, funeral pyres are lit and the Gilyak seat themselves around them. Pieces of bear meat are passed around and before they are eaten they are lightly [237] roasted. Eating and tea-drinking are the main activity at a bear festival. The stick music which is here offered as entertainment has been described. Special music is produced
527 in the village ~~of Kyta.~~ This village is the northern outpost
361 of the Gilyak settlement, on the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk,
534 about 200 versts from Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. (1) Here are

1. This distance is measured according to the curves in the coast line; in a straight line it would be much shorter.

to be found - and this has only recently been discovered -two old church bells bearing Slavonic inscriptions. They were supposed to have been taken from Fort Albasin when it was destroyed by the Chinese and since then to have belonged to

527 the natives of the Amur. An old Goldi who finally obtained
361 them gave them to his daughter when she married a Gilyak
534 from Kola. The daughter probably left them to the community, for now they do not belong to an individual, but they are regarded as sacred. During the bear festival they ring incessantly, and on other extraordinary occasions the shamans make use of them in different ways.

527 Finally, many visitors of the bear festivals are also to be
524 seen playing cards and checkers. Both games the Gilyak
177 have taken over from the Russians and Chinese, but the
777 Chinese passion for it they have fortunately not imitated. They do not play for money, and they play without great emotion. Russian as well as Chinese cards are used. (1)

1. The Chinese playing cards are about seven centimeters long but only two centimeters wide, and are decorated with various figures, About 120 cards are used in the game.

Finally, we must add that, according to the belief of the Gilyak, the village in which the most bears have been celebrated and consumed, has the greatest prospect of abundance. The pelt and the skull of the dead animal are kept and represent a sort of talisman.

527 Occasionally the Gilyak also have a pig festival, that is,
782 the comsumption of a pig (if they can get hold of one) is accompanied by ceremonies. The pig is not brought into the house through the door but through the window; on the floor, besides the pig, are placed all kinds of delicacies, such as millet porridge, berries, etc., as well as all the idols that the people happen to have. [238] Then the idols are bowed to and the feast begins.

On the island of Sakhalin there is a festival known as cheung which falls around Easter. It consists merely of a feast, at the beginning of which bits of food are thrown in all directions, probably in order to ask the gods for abundance.

764 The burial ceremony is identical with that existing among the ancient Slavs (1), that is, the corpses are burned. The

1. The Arab Ibn-Foslan who traveled through present-day Russia in the years 921 and 922 witnessed cremations among the tribes living on the banks of the Volga (called Itil by him). Spiess, Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode. 1877.

764 dead one is brought or carried into the woods, accompanied by relatives and friends He is placed on a pyre where he is burned in three or four hours. The skull and the extremities usually burn faster than the spinal column. The mourning relatives stand around the fire. In token of their sorrow the women let their hair hang loose, the men sometimes cut theirs short. The ashes are gathered in a vessel and placed in the "death house". The latter is an ordinary yurt in design, but very small, somewhat like a large doll house. Beneath it the clothes, the pipe, and the weapons of the deceased are buried. Sometimes, however, the clothes are also burned. The favorite dog is killed but not burned; it is consumed by the mourners. On Sakhalin, if the deceased was a wealthy man, all the dogs which brought his sled to the funeral pyre are killed; poor people content themselves with burning the sled.

There is no special place for the death houses; they stand by themselves all over the woods, not too far from the village. On certain days the relatives assemble here for a funeral rite. Millet, a stuffed pipe, and such things are placed in the little house through the window, and all who are present break into loud lamentation.

764 The above-described burial ceremony is customary only
182 among the true Gilyak, that is, on the island of Sakhalin and on the mainland along the Amur up to Bogorodskoye. The Sofiyskian Gilyak lower the bodies without a coffin into a crypt. The deceased is given his best clothes for the journey besides a bowl of millet, a stuffed pipe and some spirits. At the head-and foot-end [239] stakes are driven, on which hang his weapons and other objects. For these graves there is
766 also no particular place. Sometimes, instead of being bur-
182 ied the corpses are put in open cradles made of wicker and suspended from trees. This is supposed to be done when there are epidemics, and thus the very thing that should not be done is done. However, since these death cradles are isolated and hung up at a great distance from the villages,the miasmas resulting from decomposition are probably not harmful.

XV Weltanschauung and Religion.

771 The Gilyak do not generally like to speak of transcendental matters. One is advised by some of them to ask a shaman for information, since he knows better. Others, on the contrary, answer the given questions like disinterested persons, that is, they say the shaman maintains this or that, but a certain scepticism is apparent. The Gilyak are

771 predominantly of a practical disposition and are not fond of rumination. Moreover, they do not yet have firm beliefs and their prophets, the shamans, often misuse their imagination so boldly that their assertions contradict those of other shamans or of everyday experience. From conversations, from customs and actions, we may conclude that the Gilyak believe in a supreme being, in many lesser spirits, both good and bad, and in immortality, but they have not emerged from fetishism.

776 God (kush or kur) made everything, he lives in heaven and
782 never appears. He is held to be good, but otherwise nothing is said of his characteristics. In one village, however, I heard that God is very angry if a shaman is put to death. In this we may already see something like priestly self-glorification. Kush is not worshipped, in fact, one does not bother much about him, only now and then something is sacrificed to him, but it is questionable whether this is meant for him or for his subordinate spirits. For instance, when a Gilyak crosses a dangerous passage on his journey, he pours a bowl of spirits on the earth or in the waters: this is the sacrifice to God. Sometimes one of the best dogs is sacrificed to him, whereupon it is eaten. Near a village a stake is sometimes rammed into the earth and beneath it millet or fish are buried, or tobacco and such things [240] are tied on top, - all this is meant to be for the supreme being. Such a stake remains standing until it rots.

825 The bear usually appears as the executor of divine
783 ordinances, and he punishes the bad people during their lifetime. As a matter of fact, there are a number of superstitious ideas connected with the bear, and thus he may be regarded as a "sacred" animal, but nobody regards him as a god or demigod.

825 The Gilyak do not bother much about the tiger, for they
789 seldom encounter him. But the Goldi and Manchurians re-
278 gard him as much more than a wild animal. He is regarded as having some mysterious power, he is spoken of with a certain caution and referred to as "the honorable colored one". (1) It is also said of him that he only attacks bad

1. Barabach, Journey on the Sungari. 1874. (Published in Russian).

people. However, if the tiger creates too much havoc and kills the cattle of the Manchurians, they set traps for him

825 and if he gets caught, he is killed. But even after that he is
789 handled with respect, that is, his corpse is laid before the
278 house of the idols and left there until it begins to decay.
Besides the skin, the bones and the gall are immediately sold, for the former are held by the Gilyak to make a man brave, and the latter is used for all kinds of medicaments.
776 Of the numerous spirits whom the Gilyak are supposed to
782 know about, some are good and protect man, but the majority are more or less evil, and must therefore be propitiated with gifts. The chief of the evil ones is called Kins (on the island of Sakhalin: Kinsh) and to a certain extent corres-
778 ponds to the devil, Ahriman, etc. of other peoples. "Spirit"
782 and "idol" are both called kegn, for the idols are not only
532 symbols, but at times also the dwellings of the spirits or kobolds. Usually they are kept in the storage huts and only hauled out on special occasions. If an idol is "heavy" it means that its inhabitant, the kobold, is at home, but when it gets "lighter" than usual, the spirit is roaming about somewhere. The offerings here also consist of millet, tobacco, etc.; very often the face of the idol is smeared with cranberry juice, which seems to have a powerful effect. Wood chips are also hung around its neck. The idols have different appearances. A guardian spirit, for example, [24] lives in a wooden cone that is placed somewhere in the vicinity of the yurt when it is built. If the yurt must be taken down, the idol remains, and at the new dwelling a new one is made. Some idols are crude imitations of humans, others have the shape of a bear and are sewed into bear skin, still others have the shape of a bird, etc. Some human-like idols represent children, others old people. Some have hands and feet, others only a head which sits on a body showing a navel. Small idols are sometimes worn as talismans. These also usually have human forms, but some look very
789 different. Thus the talisman against a difficult birth is a
844 figure carved of wood, representing a double acorn.

Besides the idols, there are some more or less strange-
778 looking objects not made by the Gilyak themselves, which
782 have a mysterious significance for them. Such an object
177 stands on the so-called Tyr (1) about 80 versts from

1. From the Gilyak village Tyr.

Nikolayevsk-na-Amure. On a high, precipitous river bank a Bhuddist temple formerly stood; of this only a few stone pillars remain, bearing Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions.

778 These were deciphered by Klaproth and the Archimandrite
782 Avvakum. One inscription reads: "Temple of eternal peace",
177 the other is a Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit sacred formula: "Om mani padme hum", i. e., "O jewel in the lotos! Amen!" The temple was supposed to have existed in the time of G nghis Kahn. Neighboring Gilyak come to these pillars and offer sacrifices, that is, they decorate them with wood chips, pour millet or spirits on the earth, etc. Thereupon they promise themselves an abundant yield of fish.

Near the village of Vaida high above the water is to be seen a thin, dry tree trunk parallel to the water level and jutting out of the steep rock wall, with branches radiating out in a circle. This tree trunk is held to be sacred by the Vaida-Gilyak. It is also often decorated with wood chips and above its roots, on the edge of the river bank, the bear festival is held. The above-mentioned church bells also belong to the sacred objects. [RCH: see category 116, p. 257] [242]

775 Almost all Gilyak believe in a future life, which may be
171 gathered from the customs relating to the burial ceremony. Life in the hereafter is pictured exactly like the present life, except that it has neither age nor death. A deceased aged person regains his youth there, a married couple is united anew. There is neither hell nor paradise. (1) The

1. A similar belief is said to exist among the natives of Kamchatka.

fate of evil persons differs from that of good ones only in the fact that the souls of the former do not immediately reach that world, but must roam about on the earth for a while, usually in the form of an animal, particularly a dog. This is the Gilyak purgatory which certainly cannot be called the most absurd idea of purgatory. "The beyond" is put not below, but above somewhere in heaven.

771 However, even among these savages there are sceptics, or rather unbelievers. Thus a Sakhalin-Gilyak, after a pause, told a visiting Russian priest who sounded him out on religious matters: "What business of ours is God! If we have enough sable and fish we shall live, if not, we must go hungry." Another Gilyak in the vicinity of Sofiyskoye positively denied immortality in speaking to Russian peasants, pointing to a fish and saying: "just as this fish will disappear if I put it to death, so also man disappears."

771 More frequently one finds those who recognize a supreme being and immortality, but do not bother much about them. Some do not even believe in the idols, and these may already reflect the opinions of those of other beliefs. Thus the little village of Kula near Nikolayevsk has for some time already had neither idols nor shamans. I was visited by two brothers who were born there and who were both wide-awake and good-natured chaps; they confessed to me that they believe in god, but regard the idols as foolishness.

756 The shamans are the mediators between the visible and
789 invisible world; they always excel in experience and
782 perspicacity, whereby they know how to predict many things, for instance, changes in the weather, and thus they exert their influence. Their chief function consists of driving out sickness which is mainly the work of evil spirits. Incidentally they are [243] also consulted on other occasions. For instance, there may be few fish at one place or another; the shaman is consulted and orders a dog of such and such color to be killed and offered up in the river at the designated place. The sacrificial gifts are generally made according to the shaman's prescriptions. A competent shaman knows how to "drive away the rain" by threatening the clouds and denouncing them loudly. Likewise, of course, he understands how to make rain and thunderstorms. "As soon as he begins his magic song, rain clouds immediately appear", a Gilyak believer told me. His magic practices can also bring harm. For instance, he can cause a human somewhere far off in some village to die of a fish or a drink which does not harm others. He can flood a village, and so forth. Occasionally the magic practices are feared, but the magician is never persecuted. However, the shamans are usually merciful enough to stick to threats only, if someone irritates them; and besides, not everybody believes in them.

755 If a shaman is invited to visit a sick person he appears
534 in his official costume. He wears a girdle on which hang numerous clinking tin objects. In his hand he carries his drum and his staff. The drum is about two-thirds meters long and consists of a wooden ring on which is stretched a pig skin or the skin of a stag, and on which hang a number of little bells. He alternately beats his drum and sings

755 softly or whispers magic formulas, walks back and forth
534 like a pendulum, far into the night. Sometimes he leaps
over a burning pile of wood, or he makes the sick person
755 run about if he is able. Some shamans impress their public
786 with more difficult tricks. They appear laden with chains,
778 whirl about like mad, and in a state of ecstasy may hurl
themselves into the fire and make believe it does them no
harm. Narcotic drinks are not given, but the sick person
sometimes gets certain herb infusions from which the
shamans expect healing effects. The magic feats are
corroborated with various prescriptions relative to the
spirits. For instance, an idol in the shape of a human being
is placed next to the sick person, its face smeared with
cranberry juice, and the sick person himself has wood chips
hung around his neck, etc. Or the shaman orders that the
clothes of the sick person be hung out in the woods and that
he be [244] dressed in others. This is done in order to
outwit the kobold who saw him only in his old clothes.
755 This medical magic is usually begun in the evening, at
789 twilight, when the imagination is more active and also when
deception can be more easily concealed. The shamans also
seek to consolidate their authority by means of various
magic tricks that otherwise have no practical meaning. For
instance, they swallow knives and needles. Not long ago
there lived a celebrated magician near Sofiyskoye who
gouged out his eyes and thrust a knife into his belly, which
was afterwards excreted. He was later exposed in these
juggling tricks by an itinerant Russian merchant. It was
shown that the knife blade, instead of penetrating his belly,
disappeared into his pants and passed into a receptacle.
After that the magician was completely discredited.
789 Finally, there are a few superstitious practices we must
372 mention. If a Gilyak goes on a journey he must drink some
271 water in the yurt shortly before he leaves; he does the same
thing as soon as he has returned. The hearth fire is also
to a certain extent sacred for the Gilyak; it is not carried
outside and the Gilyak do not like to have a traveler light
his cigar at it and then leave the house.
177 This chapter is also the place to say a few words about the
797 baptized Gilyak. There are not many of them, but no one
knows exactly how many, first of all because many of these
"Christians" let themselves be baptized several times, in
the city, for instance, as well as by their village divine.
From this we may see how much they really understand of
their new religion. We have said before that they regard

177 baptism a means of guarding against abduction of their
797 women. Those who are baptized live just like the unbaptized ones, their children are usually not baptized, and their corpses are cremated. Their fellow-tribesmen by no means persecute them. A baptized Gilyak is regarded by the others somewhat as though he had shared in some special acquaintance.

802 XVI. Intellectual Development, Time-Computation,
805 Legends.

The Gilyak count to quite a high number: 2000, 5000 and more, but of course they almost never use such high figures. The Gilyak year is half as long as the real one: winter which probably lasts half a year, is regarded as a whole year, the [245] remaining year being regarded as another one. Moreover, there are special names for the four seasons.

821 The Gilyak know how to find their way by the stars, and the Big Dipper and pole-star are their guides. They seem to have no particular assumptions with regard to the characteristics of the heavenly bodies. From some I heard that the sun and moon were inhabited by people. I could not learn anything definite about whether they might not be "the beyond". It can only be said that the other world is somewhere up above, not under the earth, as with the ancient Greeks.

805 The Gilyak do not count their years. Only of quite young
561 people one can hear it said approximately how old they are. Older people cannot remember their age and immediately say: "the Gilyak does not count his years". This means his own age, for with them there is no question of chronology or history.

173 The majority know nothing about their past. But from
181 several intelligent Gilyak I heard that once "a long time
721 ago", there was a war between the Amur-Gilyak and those of Sakhalin; that the latter came with a great many boats, but were defeated. There is also a tradition on Sakhalin which has it that three or four generations ago a long war raged, whose cause was the abduction of a woman. It is difficult to say whether this war is the same as the one of which the Amur-Gilyak tell. In any case, the long intervals between such wars testify to the peaceableness of this tribe. The Gilyak knew nothing of fighting with the first Russians who arrived.

In answer to the question whether they had always occupied their present settlements, most of them answered simply: "I do not know". However, I heard from one of

173 them that the old people had told him that one part of the
181 Gilyak came across the ocean, the other, from above, that
721 is, from approximately there where the city of Blagoveshchensk lies. May we not understand this to mean that they crossed over from Sakhalin and that the first immigrants mingled with the Goldi who were already to be found on the Amur?

153 If one asks how intelligent the Gilyak are, it may be said that for savages they are rather intelligent. In the arts, however, they are very backward. They know how to draw or carve various animals. The figures are coarse, but nevertheless [246] recognizable. Music and poetry are absolutely embryonic, but at least they like to hear music. Their memory for places and persons is astonishing. If a Gilyak meets a stranger somewhere, he recognizes him instantly after many years, and at the same time recalls all kinds of minor circumstances accompanying the original meeting. In languages, too, their memory is not bad, at least many of them speak Russian, but the reverse is not true. It is, however, doubtful whether the Gilyak's memory would be adequate for systematic instruction. In instruction the different facts cannot be directly understood but must be interpreted from the words of another, and thus a certain
212 imagination and judgment are needed. For a time there was
672 a school in the village of Mikhaylovskoye where Gilyak children were taught to read and write. This they learned very well, but nothing else was taught. The Gilyak, of course, do not have their own writing.

153 Curiosity and a desire for knowledge are average. The
609 former I judge in comparison with other uncultivated peoples whom I had the opportunity of observing, especially the Bashkir. The latter are so intrusive in their curiosity that they give the traveler no peace. Of course, the Gilyak also gather around a stranger who stops at their yurts, but not in great numbers; they keep at a certain distance and soon disperse. If they come into the house of a Russian, they look about them with curiosity but they do not immediately reach for everything that strikes them and do not ask for presents. In this, as in many other respects, they are decorous people.

153 If I must praise them in this connection, I must also say
821 that their desire for knowledge is not sufficiently matured
177 that they would be interested in the main springs of culture. It seldom occurs to them to ask a Russian about a machine, about economic questions, nature, institutions, religion,

153 etc. If such topics are brought up, however, one may
821 converse with the more intelligent of them for a short time.
177 As an example of a philosophical discussion with a Gilyak, I should like to quote the interview of a Russian priest (1)

1. The deceased V. Kasansky.

with a Sakhalin-Gilyak who maintained he had observed nothing of God's ways. After [247] a religious discussion the Gilyak suddenly asked: "and why do the Russians say that the earth moves around the sun, when what we see is exactly the opposite?" "Do you have lice in your hair?" was the priest's counter-question. The Gilyak became somewhat embarrassed, but admitted that occasionally he had them. "Good", replied the witty priest, "now if such a louse sits in your hair and sees nothing but your hair, and then goes walking about, it begins to think that it alone is moving, but that your head is standing still. And yet your head, meantime, might be gliding along with you in your boat. Even so is it with us lice on earth: the earth may be moving and we may not be aware of it." The Gilyak grinned but did not reply to the extemporaneous astronomical proof of the little father.

147 XVII. Sickness and its Treatment.

838 In general, the Gilyak are healthier than civilized people. Their endurance of cold and hunger is amazing. To go without food for a few days and yet continue the hunt in the taiga, or to stand for hours up to their chests in the coldest water - all this is nothing to them. Moreover, weakness in body structure, congenital defects, paunches, bad teeth, etc. are seldom found among them. Hermaphroditism was the only deformity that was known to me.

164 Constitutional illnesses and later sicknesses did not have many representatives. I did not find cancer, tuberculosis and scrofula. I saw two cases of leprosy in father and son in one village; another son was healthy. Syphilis occurs, but rarely, in isolated cases, and near cities and military posts. In any case this disease does not have the significance among the Gilyak that it has gained among the native Kamchadals. In spite of the fact that they are hardened toward wind and weather, they suffer rather frequently from rheumatism. Toothache is rare.

164 The Gilyaks are unfamiliar with scurvy, although the
563 Russians suffer from it more than in Europe. I have
342 spoken in another connection (1) of the fact that I believe
362

1. St. Petersburg Med., Wochenschrift, No. 2-3. 1882.

this illness can be traced to earth miasmas, and particularly to external ones rising up from the extensive marshes and bogs, as well as house miasmas. The fact that the natives are immune [248] may be attributed partly to habit, (for Europeans suffer most from it when they first arrive) and especially to the functional construction of the houses. Russian barracks and private houses stand on frame work which soon rots. Below the wood floor there is rotten wood and damp earth which does not freeze even in winter. The houses are badly ventilated and frequently have a definite odor of mould. The Gilyak house has a solid floor of pressed clay which does not let the earth miasmas penetrate; it is well ventilated and is often filled with smoke whose disinfectant qualities perhaps have an effect. Diet seems to be only a limited factor in this question.

164 Another endemic disease, chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, occurs among the Gilyak, but relatively seldom and soon disappears. It is usually accompanied by unbearable colic. This catarrh is also of miasmatic origin.

In spite of the constant fish diet, the Gilyak seldom suffers from tape worm. Among Russians, too, it seems to come mainly from pork, but the Gilyak rarely get this meat.

Bronchial catarrh occurs frequently, and pneumonia seems the most frequent of the serious acute illnesses of the Gilyak. The children of the Gilyak villages also suffered from a whooping cough epidemic that was prevalent during my time in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure.

Eye diseases occur more seldom than one would expect, for in general, tribes that live in smoky houses frequently suffer from them and present many one-eyed and blind cases. The Gilyak houses are not always full of smoke, to be sure, but so frequently that the relative absence of these diseases must be attributed to a greater insensitivity of the eye nerves. Actually, everyone who has been inside a Gilyak house will be convinced that the natives can remain calmly seated in smoke clouds that would immediately drive
164 a European out. However, the Gilyak do not escape entirely
293 unpunished. One finds among them people with chronic

164 conjunctivitis, corneal obscuration, and sty. Some cannot
293 stand a strong light and this is particularly noticeable in February and March because at that time, in the mid-day sun [249] the snow which is already partly melting on the surface, is intolerably blinding. These people, if they must go out during the day, wear spectacles of braided horsehair, which they make themselves. Among Gilyak women who do a great deal of fine needle work, nearsightedness occurs.

164 The infrequency of eye diseases seems to be partly connected with the non-prevalence of miasmatic and infectious diseases. (1) Soldiers also suffer little with their

1. Disguised ague and scurvy are to a certain extent exceptions.

eyes, in spite of the blinding snow. The abundant summer rain fall, the long, severe winter, and, finally, the sparse population account for the scarcity of miasmatic and infectious diseases, in spite of the widespread swamps.

But as for the febrile skin diseases, which among the Russians occur more seldom than in Europe, they are a veritable scourge among the natives. Whether they were known before the advent of the Russians is difficult to say, but one may assume that they were less frequent and permitted the population to recover. Now, however, they suffer more.

After several murderous epidemics of smallpox and measles, there remained gaps which will not be so easily filled. This seems to be the chief reason for the decrease in the native population.

164 The nervous and mental diseases which occur among the
158 European inhabitants more frequently than in Europe,
732 chiefly from causes of a social nature (nostalgia, alcoholism etc.) are not wide-spread among the Gilyak. I heard of epilepsy, but nothing of neuralgias, paralyses, and idiocy. I know of one case of chronic intermittent mania. However, diseases in this category will increase if whiskey-drinking should become prevalent.

752 External illnesses such as: burns, frost-bite, sprains, breaks, etc., of course occur, but I saw no case which resulted in permanent injury. From this one may conclude that the primitive methods of healing combined with the power of nature usually conquer such illnesses. [250]

164 Chronic skin diseases occur rather frequently. The chief cause of these is, of course, the lack of cleanliness, but it

164 also seems to me that the almost exclusive fish diet is a contributory factor. At any rate, I knew people who had a skin itch after eating fish, which, to a certain extent, points to its etiological significance.

Lithiasis does not occur among the Gilyak or the Russians of the Amur, and this may be partly explained by the softness of the water.

Goiter is also unknown. The only case I saw there, was that of a woman who had come from Irkutsk.

755 The treatment of disease is of course very rudimentary. They expect the most from the magic tricks of the shamans, since usually black magic is part of the game. The natural healing agencies over which the shaman commands are very few in number and are carefully guarded.

752 Sprains are usually set by stretching. In cases of breaks, splints are used. Wounds are frequently left quite open and washed only with water. In cases of suppuration bits of agaric [Lärchenpilz] are sometimes put in the wound.

757 Frozen limbs are wrapped in oiled or clean cotton. In cases of chronic stomach and intestinal catarrh, bitter herbs, especially wormwood, are used as infusions. In cases of violent attacks of colic which occur with this illness the Gilyak sometimes set Moxa of burning sponge. Rheumatics bathe in the warm springs near the village of Mikhil, and these actually prove to be very helpful. (1) In bad

1. They have a temperature of 24 to 36 degrees Reaumur and belong to the indifferent thermal waters.

epidemics of measles, etc., the Gilyak sometimes separate into groups of families and go into the taiga.

The natives generally do not like to undergo treatment. They suffer patiently and call the shaman only in extreme cases. They very seldom turn to Russian physicians, but they regard them also as shamans, but wiser than the native ones.

231 Of diseases occuring among their sole domestic animal, the dog, I can mention only epidemic colds which sometimes wreak havoc. As for rabies, [251] not a single case has occurred up to now in the coastal region, which may be related to the fact that among natives as well as among many Russians, dogs are systematically kept for work, that is, for draft purposes.

194 XVIII. Language.

128 In putting the Gilyak language into writing it is easiest to use Russian letters, for several sounds are pronounced exactly as they are in Russian and in the Slavic languages in general. The Russian letters Ы, Ю, Я exist in the Gilyak language, especially the latter sound which can be represented neither by the West-European "Y" nor by "ui", and which is pronounced exactly as in the Russian word b'il. The letter "i" is pronounced peculiarly full as in Slavic languages before a, u, o, and ui (l) and at the end of some

1. I use these two letters for the Russian Ъ although they do not accurately reproduce it.

words; and for this there is no corresponding sound in the Germanic and Romance languages. The letters g, k, and h or really ch [German pronunciation] occur frequently in Gilyak words and are sharply accented by pressing the tongue against the soft palate, so that this language (like th Semitic tongues) has a peculiarly guttural sound. There ar so many consonants that it probably deserves to be called a hard and not a beautiful language. The language of the Goldi is softer. The t and tch, the k and ch [kh] often coincide and the y is sometimes pronounced almost like the sh and the French g.

197 The language of the Amur-Gilyak from the sea up to the village of Bogorodskoye resembles the Sakhalin language sufficiently so that the people can at least make themselves understood after a fashion. But it, too, already shows som deviations which even occur in neighboring villages. Thus the word "cough" is yeret in Kaka; in Vaida which lies on the shore about one and one-half German miles from it, the word is yaat. In Mikhil which is about 100 versts (about 14 German miles) up-stream, the deviations are more numerous. For instance, the word "friend" is there called napkhe; the word "heaven"; tle. In Vaida and Kaka these words are amgan and tly. In Mikhil the expression "good day" is designated by the Goldi word sarodé. Even in one and the same place many words are differently [252] pronounced; for example, ytyk ("father") is also pronounced styka. Other words change so much according to the way they are used that they are no longer recognizable. For instance "rufrokh" means "with the brother": ytyktokh,

197 "with the father", while ygryr means "with him", and nygryr: "with me". [F.S. Examples omitted]

193 Often the preposition is entirely omitted (see below). There are almost no grammatical forms. There are no declensions. The verbs sometimes change so much that they are hard to recognize, but these metamorphoses are not so constant that fixed rules could be derived from them. There are some conjugational forms, but they exist within such broad limits that there is room for arbitrariness, that is, one can use one or another form. [F. S.: Examples omitted]

[253] From these examples it may be seen 1) that the verbs are to a large extent modified, but 2) that it is difficult in these modifications to find a constant applying to a particular time, person, and number. It seems certain that up to the present time nothing of the kind exists. At least my Gilyak professors did not object when I used a certain verb in an indefinite form for all moods except the imperative, and for all persons and numbers. Only the imperative always seemed to end in "ya", with the accent on the last syllable. But many verbs are strongly abbreviated or changed; for instance "to sing" is lunyt; "sing" [imperative] is luya. [F. S: Other examples omitted]. The indefinite mood, with few exceptions, ends in "ty".

[254] There are no genders; "he" and "she" are the same. Singular and plural are also the same, only the pronouns are an exception.

The prepositions are usually placed after the word to which they refer; for example: "through the forest", pal (forest) shmy (through).

The adjectives have no comparative and superlative, instead the word lele (very) precedes them. For some things which can be large or small there are related expressions, of which the one referring to the larger object is a repetition of the one referring to the smaller object; for instance: a "small river" is la, "river" is pilala.